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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

SECOND VOLUME

THE UPHEAVAL

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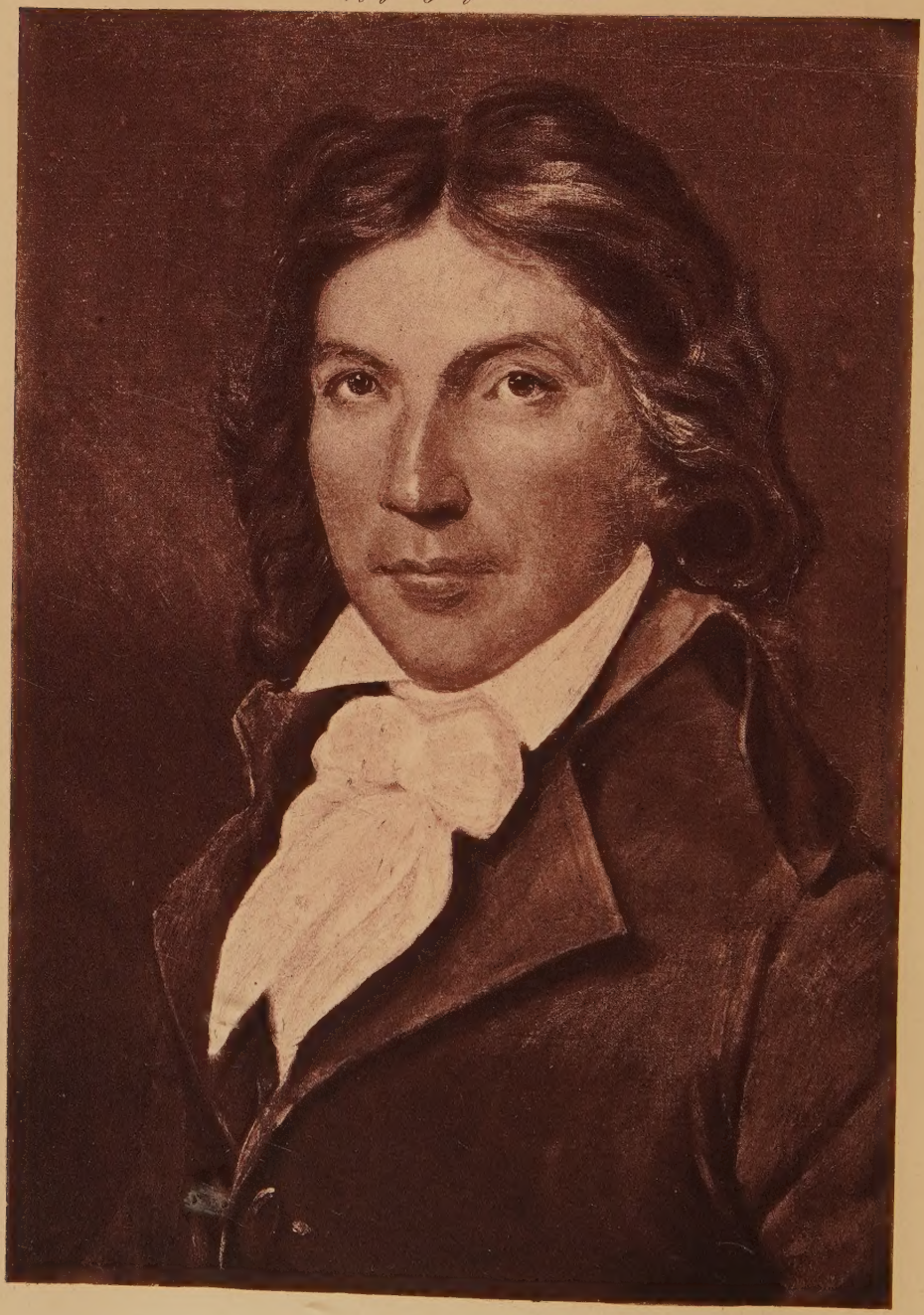

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

SECOND VOLUME
THE UPHEAVAL

BY

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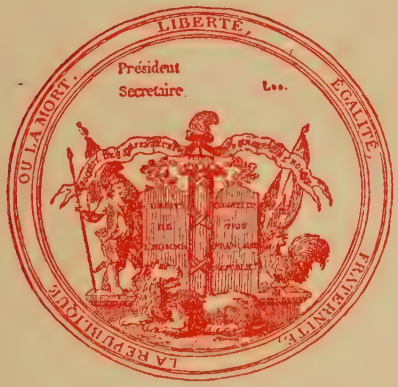

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PREFACE

The yielding of Louis XVI to the demands of the deputies of the Third Estate in the States General, his sanction of their assumed character and function as a Constituent Assembly, charged with the task of elaborating fundamental laws for the kingdom, inaugurated the experiment of constitutional monarchy in France. In July, 1789, the nation as a whole was still strongly attached to the ancient monarchy and loyal to the king. Ruler and people had renewed their pledges of affection. No voice was as yet raised against the throne. Republican sentiment, if it existed at all, was only an abstract ideal.

In the Assembly which had undertaken to remodel the structure of the state, the representatives of the middle class with their liberal associates among the clergy and nobility formed a large majority. This body was essentially an organ of the substantial classes of society. Its members were largely inspired by lofty humanitarian ideals and enthusiasm for the philosophic doctrines of the eighteenth century. They stood for thorough, but orderly, reform, consistent progress. A moderate party among them, admirers of the British constitution, advocated a responsible ministry, to be chosen from the popular legislative chamber and enjoying its confidence, parliamentary government. It seemed an auspicious moment for the destinies of France. The resolution and character of the National Assembly gave promise of a peaceful, prosperous development.

Little more than three years passed and the hope of peaceful evolution had vanished. Passion and violence had usurped the place of moderation. Foreign and domestic enemies had conspired against the Revolution. The French king was a prisoner, royalty had become the object of abhorrence and detestation in France. The monarchists had been dispersed or destroyed; the liberal reformers were silenced. The nation accepted the proclamation of the republic almost without protest. The experiment with constitutional monarchy had completely failed.

It is the purpose of the present volume to trace the course of events in this fateful period and explain the causes of this failure. The period forms a distinctive epoch and the discussion will lead to one of the great turning points in the French Revolution.

The causes of the failure of constitutional monarchy at this time in France are of course manifold; some of them remote or scarcely definable. Others were inherent in the situation. The nation was inevitably drawn into extravagant conduct by the intoxication of its new liberty. But our investigation will reveal especially the baneful effect of certain tendencies and conditions that threaten popular government at all times and in all places. The supreme significance of the French Revolution lies in the great lesson of civic rectitude and duty which it teaches through the most impressive and terrible examples.

The period before us illustrates the folly of political dogmatism, the deplorable results of indifference among the substantial and responsible classes to the political life of the community, the perilous power of systematic propaganda and of closely organized minorities impelled by selfish or fanatic aims and determined to win at any cost, and the madness of partisan rivalry and strife.

The Constituent Assembly, animated by enlightened ideals but hampered by political inexperience, created a constitution which embodied its high principles and foreshadowed most of the progress of the following century, but contained serious defects from too literal application of abstract doctrines. Thus, by excluding from the ministry members of the legislative body, this first constitution destroyed the possibility of unity in the government and condemned the executive to weakness.

In this time of changes and uncertainty, selfish ambition was ever ready to turn to its own account every embarrassment of the governing powers. The formation of distinctive groups and parties, growing out of contrasted political theories or rival interests, spread seeds of suspicion and discord. The members of the Assembly played into the hands of the extremists by the unwise measure excluding themselves, and therefore such political experience as had been acquired by practice, from the new Legislative Assembly, their successor. The powerful organization of the political clubs, spreading throughout the country, became an effective agent of propaganda for molding public opinion or inflaming the passions of the multitude. The withdrawal from public life and from the most influential political clubs of many of the moderate element through weariness, disgust, or the self-denying rule of the Constituent Assembly, and the neglect of their civic duties by a large part of the substantial classes left the field to the radicals, extremists, and fanatics. There was a corresponding rapid change in the character and policy of the Jacobin Club whose influence was henceforth hostile to the constitution. While the court and aristocracy sought to restore their authority through the aid of foreign rulers, the patriot factions in their frenzied rivalry solicited the support of the extremists, courted the multitude, and connived at the arming of the

populace of Paris. The intrigues of the court and the reckless zeal of the radicals and the violence of the extremists left no middle ground for prudent statesmanship. In the factional strife the ultimate victory rested with the party which, though least numerous, possessed the greatest confidence with the least scruples, and which outdid its rivals in flattering the multitude so as to use them.

Finally, the forces of anarchy, stirred to furious action by the reported treachery of the court and by the intrigues of the demagogues, overthrew the throne and constitution and produced the social upheaval. The failure of constitutional monarchy was at the same time the end of all chance of moderate reform. The foes of true popular government are present to-day in all free countries, ever watchful and active. The only effective means of defense against them are an intelligent public opinion and the constant vigilance of all responsible, rightminded citizens.

GEORGE H. ALLEN, PH.D.

Paris

CHAPTER I

The Constituent Assembly and its Task

The memorable session of the Assembly on the evening of August 4, 1789; the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of the privileged orders. Abolition of all forms of feudal servitude. The decrees in fulfilment of the resolutions of this famous session. The military oath of loyalty to the nation, king, and law. Formation of parties in the Assembly. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen; the preamble and leading provisions. Discussion of the organization of the legislative power. The breach among the patriots. The adoption of the suspensive veto and the rejection of the second legislative chamber. Evasive attitude of the king regarding the decrees of August 4th. The Regiment of Flanders summoned to Versailles.

The situation in France after the successful uprising in July, 1789, resembled that of Russia after the revolution of March, 1917. In both cases power had passed from the monarch into the hands of the middle class or its representatives and friends of orderly progress rejoiced that so great a revolution had been accomplished with so little loss of life or devastation of society. This complacency was short-lived. In both cases these initial outbreaks were only the beginnings of a long period of destructive tempests. But the more vigorous development of the middle class in France gave the course of events, inaugurated by the memorable occurrences of the summer of 1789, a far more consistent character.

The course of revolutions and the nature of their excesses are largely determined by the obstacles which they encounter. The privileged orders endeavored to prevent and check the French Revolution. The kingdoms of

Europe, forming a coalition, attempted to crush it. Interior resistance and foreign aggression intensified the revolutionary spirit, and made inevitable the triumph of the masses, the Reign of Terror, and military tyranny.

The disorder and turmoil prevailing throughout France in midsummer, 1789, compelled the Assembly to turn its attention for the time from consideration of general constitutional principles to the suppression of the abuses which provoked the irritation of the rural classes, lest legitimate rights of property be sacrificed in the fury of the uprising against privilege. In consequence, the session of the Assembly of the evening of August 4th became a landmark in the progress of the Revolution.

On that occasion the committee on the constitution proposed a resolution of the Assembly declaring, in respect to feudal dues and servitudes, that the old laws subsisted and should be executed until changed or abrogated by authority of the nation, and that all customary dues should be rendered as in the past until the Assembly ordered otherwise.

But even the representatives of the privileged orders realized that such a measure would not appease the tumult. The Vicomte de Noailles proposed the suppression of all corvées and personal servitudes without indemnity and the abrogation of the other seigneurial rights with reimbursement. He added that taxes should be paid by every Frenchman according to his revenue. The political distinction of the different orders had been abolished. Arbitrary government had been destroyed. The time had come to do away with inequality in the rights of citizens.

A wave of generous enthusiasm passed over the Assembly. All orders and classes vied with one another in self-sacrifice. The nobles renounced their exclusive rights of hunting and the chase and of keeping pigeon-cots.

The pigeon-cots of the nobility were looked upon with special aversion by the peasantry, who had no redress for the depredations of the pigeons in their grain fields. The Duc du Châtelet proposed that tithes be abolished and that taxes in money be substituted for the support of the clergy. The clerical delegates rose to adhere to this proposal and were greeted with applause from all parts of the chamber. Seigneurial jurisdictions, the venality of the positions in the highest magistracy, immunity from taxation, the payment of annates to the See of Rome, the plurality of ecclesiastical benefices, and pensions conferred without cause were all condemned. The trade guilds and their restrictions were declared abolished. The deputies of Dauphiné, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Provence renounced the special fiscal privileges of their provinces, and the cities followed the example of the provinces.

The meeting lasted until three A.M. when Lally-Tollendal proposed that it be terminated with a vote of thanks to the king and that the Assembly proclaim him "Restorer of French Liberty." The Assembly cried: "Long live the king; long live Louis XVI, restorer of French liberty," with indescribable enthusiasm. The unity of the nation, the harmony of all classes seemed complete.

But harmony ceased with the task of reducing to definite decrees the impulsive expressions of the night of August 4th. The discussion lasted six days. The abolition of tithes involved questions taxing the judgment of the most unprejudiced. Many ecclesiastics demanded that the tithes should be redeemed and not suppressed without indemnity. It was urged that rural proprietors had acquired by purchase lands subject to the payment of tithes. The suppression of tithes would be equivalent to a gift to such proprietors of the capital value of the tithes. In many cases members of the laity had purchased tithes of ecclesiastical

bodies and had transmitted them as real property. In their case the suppression of tithes would have been an unjust confiscation of private rights of property. The Assembly voted for the suppression without indemnity of the tithes possessed by the regular and secular clergy, subject to the adoption of other means of providing for the expenses of the religious cult, the maintenance of the ministers of the altars, and the relief of the poor, and for the redemption of the tithes which had become the property of members of the laity.

The Vicomte de Noailles had proposed the suppression without indemnity of the seigneurial corvées, mainmortes, and other personal servitudes. Mainmorte was the relationship by which the tenant was incapable of transmitting his holding to his descendants. It reverted to the lord. If the mainmorte was personal, the peasant was the serf of his lord. If it attached only to the land, the peasant could depart and recover his liberty by abandoning his holding. Often payments in money had been substituted for this feudal right, and these had been transferred by sale. But the Assembly abolished all mainmortes, personal and real, and all dues representative of mainmortes.

The Assembly adopted the following decree on the equality of rights:

"All citizens, without distinction of birth, shall have the right of admission to all ecclesiastical, civil and military employments and dignities, and no useful calling shall disqualify them."

"Pecuniary privileges . . . . are abolished forever. Taxation shall be levied on all citizens and on all property in the same manner and in the same form."

"All special privileges of the provinces, principalities, lands, cantons, towns and communities of inhabitants, whether pecuniary or of any other nature, are abolished

The Assembly on the night of August 4, 1789, when all orders and classes self-sacrificingly abandoned their privileges. After the painting by A. Dawant.

irrevocably and are merged in the common right of all Frenchmen."

A decree abolished the venality of judicial and municipal offices but left the actual officers in the exercise of their functions and in enjoyment of the corresponding emoluments until the Assembly had made provision for indemnifying them.

The Assembly began the transformation of the status of the Church of France. At the death of a bishop or other holder of an ecclesiastical benefice, the bishopric or other benefice usually remained vacant for a time. The revenues, theoretically those of a year,—hence the term *annates*,—were due to the pope who conferred the canonical institution on the new incumbent. The Assembly now voted a decree forbidding the sending of annates or other payments to the See of Rome and thus deprived the pope of rights which he had possessed by virtue of the Concordat of 1516. The Assembly deprived the rural curés of their casual fees, but increased their proportion of the parochial revenue. The plurality of benefices was forbidden wherever the combined revenue would amount to more than 3,000 livres. The Assembly, still loyal to the crown, ordered that a medal be struck in commemoration of Louis XVI as "Restorer of French Liberty," and that a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving be sung in all the churches of the country.

On August 10th the Assembly voted a decree for reëstablishment of order throughout the kingdom. It conferred on the municipalities the right to demand the intervention of the army for this purpose. It ordered them to disperse riotous assemblages with the help of the national militia, the maréchaussées, and the troops, and to disarm vagabonds. The decree prescribed a solemn oath to be taken by the troops to the nation and to the king, as head of the nation, in the following terms:

"The soldiers shall swear in the presence of the entire regiment under arms never to abandon their colors, to be faithful to the nation, to the king, and to law, and to be obedient to the rules of military discipline. The officers shall swear, at the head of their troops, in presence of the municipal officers, to remain faithful to the nation, to the king, and to law, and never to use those under their orders against citizens except on the demand of the civil or municipal officers, which must always be read to the assembled troops."

At the request of the Assembly, the king ordered the troops to take this oath. Thus officers and soldiers were placed under orders of the nation as well as of the king, and the troops were never to be used against citizens except upon demand of the civil authorities.

The resolutions of the night of August 4th and the decrees of the Assembly for making them effective were of fundamental importance. They cleared the ground for the social, economic, and administrative work of the Revolution by sweeping away the social abuses and characteristic institutions of the Old Régime. They marked the passage from exclusive privilege to equality. They changed the face of the kingdom, making all Frenchmen equal before the law, all legally qualified to hold public office, own property, or exercise industry. The uprising of July 14th made the nation master of the government, these decrees made it master of society.

The old royal administration had now largely passed away but the improvised organs that had taken its place throughout the country had as yet no legal recognition. The National Assembly, which had assumed the character of a constituent body through the solemn oath taken by its members on June 20th, having in a measure cleared the ground and satisfied the most urgent demands of the

rural sections by decreeing the abolition of all forms of feudal servitude, applied itself to the task of laying the constitutional foundation of the new France. A committee had been appointed on July 6th to consider the procedure advisable in framing the constitution. On July 14th the Constituent Assembly chose its first committee for drafting the constitution. It consisted of Mounier, Talleyrand, Sieyès, Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tollendal, Le Chapelier, Bergasse, and Champion de Cicé. Talleyrand, whose full name was Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, about to become one of the prominent figures of the epoch, was born of ancient, noble lineage, in Paris, February 13, 1754. Barred from his normal career, as first born, in the profession of arms through an injury sustained in childhood and destined for the church, for which he had no taste, he was educated at the College d'Harcourt, now the Lycée Saint-Louis, and received his sacerdotal training at Saint-Sulpice. In reality, his genius was formed by the works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and other liberal writers of the eighteenth century. He became Bishop of Autun on the eve of the Revolution, March 15, 1789, and the model cahier which he drew up, demanding a constitution, local government on democratic lines, the reform of the judicial organization, and the abolition of burdensome feudal privileges, was adopted by the clergy of his diocese and he was sent as their representative to the States General. Isaac René Guy Le Chapelier was born at Rennes in 1754, became prominent as a lawyer, and was chosen as deputy of the Third Estate of the sénéchaussée of Rennes in the States General. He was one of the founders of the Breton Club of deputies and was president of the Assembly on the memorable evening of the Fourth of August. Champion de Cicé, who was Bishop of Bordeaux, ceased to be a member of the committee when appointed to the Royal Council. The

conservative element, admirers of the British Constitution, prevailed on this first committee on the constitution. The Assembly was engaged intermittently on the task of making the constitution until the enactment of the document, fruit of its labors, after a final revision, September 3, 1791.

The Assembly, as we have seen, contained a very large number of men of eminent and diversified talent. But, as was necessarily the case with a representative body at that time in France, they were without practical experience in law-making, and were the more deeply swayed, therefore, by general and abstract principles. The partisans of the Revolution called themselves "patriots." Their inspiration was largely derived from Rousseau. His *Social Contract* was their gospel, and they cherished its lofty ideals in an uncritical, dogmatic spirit.

With the cooling of ecstatic fervor after the session of August 4th, the tendency of the Assembly to divide into distinctive parties became more evident. By degrees the more radical members arranged themselves in a group on one side of the hall and from their position in respect to the president of the Assembly became known as the Left. The conservative members, grouped on the other side, came to be called the Right. The moderates in their turn, from their position between the others, were called the Center.

The Assembly, in its sentimental zeal for lofty doctrines and sublimity of phraseology, following the example of other constitutional states, decided to inaugurate its labors with a solemn publication of the principles on which it proposed to remodel France. This proclamation was to have the form of a declaration of rights. The English Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence, and similar documents, together with the doctrines expressed by the liberal philosophers and jurists of the eighteenth

century constituted a common fund of ideas and principles for all the enlightened and progressive political leaders of Europe.

On August 17th Mirabeau submitted the proposed declaration of rights drawn up by a committee of five. It was discussed along with certain other proposals, notably one framed by Lafayette and revised by Mounier. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen adopted by the Assembly after a deliberation of seven days surpassed in brevity, clarity, and humaneness of expression any of the original drafts.

It began with a majestic preamble composed largely in the words read by Mirabeau in the name of the committee, as follows:

"The representatives of the French people, organized in National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public evils and of the corruption of governments, have resolved to expose in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man, to the end that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the social body, may unceasingly remind them of their rights and duties; that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, being subject at all times to comparison with the end of every political institution, may be more respected; that the demands of the citizens, founded henceforth on simple and incontestable principles, may ever turn to the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of all. Consequently, the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being the following rights of man and of the citizen."

The declaration defined the end of every political association as the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man, which are liberty, property, security, and

resistance to oppression. The authors of the declaration regarded man as endowed by nature with certain rights existing before the formation of society and superior to it, a favorite idea of the English and Americans, an essential doctrine of Rousseau, and one held by the French Physiocrats. According to the declaration, liberty consists in the power of doing all that injures no one. Hence the only limits to the exercise of the natural rights of each individual are those which insure to other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights. The principle of all authority was declared to reside in the nation. No body or individual could exercise authority that did not emanate expressly from this source. Law was defined as the expression of the general will. All citizens should have a share in making the laws, either personally or through their representatives. All citizens were declared equal before the law and alike qualified by law for admission to all public dignities and employments. The right of resistance to oppression, doubtless borrowed from American declarations, was proclaimed as an essential guarantee of liberty by those who had revolted against the violation of personal security by an arbitrary government. Like the English jurists of the eighteenth century the framers of the Declaration of Rights were especially concerned to safeguard the dignity and security of the individual. No man was to be accused, arrested, or detained in custody except in cases determined by law and in accordance with forms prescribed by law. Innocence was assumed until guilt had been proven, and no man was to be punished except in accordance with a law established and promulgated before his crime and legally applied. Religious toleration, rather than full religious liberty, was guaranteed by the provision that no one was to be disturbed for his religious opinions unless their manifestation violated public

order. The increasing independence of speech and of the press throughout the eighteenth century was tending more and more to degenerate into license. At this time when resistance to oppression as well as seditious turbulence was inspired by public oratory and journalistic agitation the right to the free communication of ideas was an indispensable although dangerous privilege. The declaration confirmed the right of every citizen to freedom of speech, of the pen, and of publication, subject, however, to the liability of answering for the abuse of this privilege in cases determined by law. Taxation for the maintenance of the public forces and the administration was to be levied equally on all the citizens in proportion to their individual resources. The citizens had the right of determining personally or through their representatives the necessity for taxation, of granting it freely, and of controlling the collection and disbursing of the funds. Thus the national control of the purse, the corner-stone of constitutional government, was guaranteed. The right of property was declared sacred and inviolable and no one could be deprived of property unless public necessity, legally established, required it, and then only on condition of just indemnity.

This document was the expression of a middle class society, jealous at the same time of personal liberty and of the rights of property. Its authors regarded it reverently as the creed of a new religion of humanity, reason, and justice. It was the definite, compelling expression of revolutionary dogma, which, received with deep emotion by nations still subject to despotism, acquired an unbounded expansive force.

It should be observed that the declaration made no mention of the right of assembly, the right of association, or the right of petition, and that it proclaimed neither full religious liberty or complete freedom of the press.

On August 28th Mounier reported to the Assembly the order of discussion for the different parts of the constitution as proposed by the committee and three days later Lally-Tollendal read the report of the committee on the organization of the legislative power. This was to consist of three parts, the king, the senate, and the representative chamber. The committee, wavering between royal nomination and various methods of election for members of the senate, left the question of choice undetermined. It proposed that the king should have the right of absolute veto of all legislation.

This subject was prolific of controversy. Many opposed the intervention of the king in legislation as a violation of the doctrine of the separation of powers so cherished by the political theorists of the time. These opposed the royal veto on principle. A breach was now forming in the patriot party. The more conservative members, made apprehensive by the rapid changes, wished to arrest the course of revolution and supported an absolute royal veto as an instrument of restraint on radical legislation. The leaders of this moderate faction were Mounier, the Abbé Sieyès, Mirabeau, Malouet, Lally-Tollendal, Virieu, and Clermont-Tonnerre. François-Henri Comte de Virieu, born at Grenoble in 1745, was a deputy of the Third Estate to the States General. In their uncritical admiration for the forms of the British Constitution, some of the moderates failed to observe that the King of England had in reality lost the power of rejecting bills passed by Parliament. The radical faction, led by Barnave, Adrien Duport, Charles Lameth, and the Marquis de Lacoste, opposed the veto as a possible weapon of reaction.

The question of the royal veto was rendered critical by the fundamental importance of the decrees of the Fourth of August and the Declaration of the Rights of Man,

"Forging the Constitution." Reproduction of a satirical print of the epoch relating to the formation of the constitution by the nobility, the clergy, and the Third Estate.

veritable charters of the Revolution, which had been enacted by the Assembly and awaited promulgation. Were these valid of themselves or did they require the approval of the king to become effective?

Lafayette tried to restore harmony among the liberals by bringing together the leaders of the two factions at the residence of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, the American statesman. There they discussed the more important pending questions, the royal veto and the organization of the legislature. The moderates wished a second legislative chamber, like the British House of Lords, chosen in such a way as to insure it a conservative character. This faction was in general supported by the ministry. Its members exaggerated their own strength and displayed an arrogant attitude. Their utmost concession was to abandon the idea of a hereditary upper house for an elective one. Negotiations were broken off on August 29th.

These discussions provoked a feverish agitation in the centers of radicalism in Paris and the moderate deputies of the Assembly, fearing a violent insurrection, proposed that in case of danger the Assembly should move to Compiègne or Soissons. On September 1st Lafayette failed in a final effort to reconcile the moderates and patriots. The moderates, uniting with the chiefs of the Right, decided to send a delegation to the king to urge the transference of the Assembly to a distance of twenty leagues from Paris. The ministers approved of this project and called a meeting of the Council. The king returned wearied from the chase, dozed through part of the meeting of the Council, which was prolonged until midnight, and finally refused his assent to the proposal.

On the next day the patriot party proposed a compromise on the question of the royal veto. The king was to receive a temporary or suspensive veto, effective for the

length of two legislatures, but was to approve the decrees of the Fourth of August. Necker at the risk of antagonizing the Right and the moderates persuaded the king to accept the suspensive veto. He recommended it to the Assembly in a message in the name of the king and it was voted September 11th.

There was opposition to the idea of a second chamber among all classes of the Assembly. The Left feared that it would become an instrument of aristocratic and royalist reaction, while some of the fanatics of the Right opposed it because of the possibility that the moderating influence of an upper chamber would save the Revolution. Many of the opponents were moved by jealousy, members of the lower nobility fearing that the seats in the second chamber would be monopolized by the more influential members of their own order and the parochial clergy assuming that they would be excluded from it by the bishops. Some of the conservative nobles were hostile to the idea of a second chamber because it was supported as a feature of the British Constitution by the liberal members of the nobility whom they regarded as traitors to their own order. A large part of the nobility was opposed to any plan for an upper chamber which did not restore them as a distinct order to a share in legislation. The rejection of Mounier's proposal for a legislature in two chambers by a vote of 849 to 89 was regarded as a defeat for the moderate faction.

Having failed to secure the adoption of their views in regard to the veto and the second chamber, the moderate faction lost influence. Several of the moderate members withdrew from the constitutional committee, which was reorganized on September 15th so as to be chiefly representative of the main body of the Left. It consisted of Sieyès, Talleyrand, Le Chapelier, Jean-Nicolas Demeunier, born at Nozeroy in the region of the Jura, March 15, 1741,

who had been secretary of the Comte de Provence and royal censor and was deputy of the Third Estate of Paris, Jacques Guillaume Thouret, born at Pont l'Évêque in 1746, celebrated for his eloquence, deputy of the Third Estate of Rouen and a vigorous opponent of ecclesiastical privileges, eventually four times president of the Assembly, Jean Paul Rabaut Saint-Étienne, born in 1743, a Protestant pastor, deputy of the Third Estate of the bailliage of Nîmes, and François Denis Tronchet, born in Paris in 1726, who had won fame in the legal profession. The constitution of 1791 was very largely the work of this committee.

Notwithstanding the agreement between the patriots and the ministry, the king was reluctant to approve the decrees of the Fourth of August. On the eve of the vote on the royal veto, Barnave had informed Necker that it was very important that the royal message should express the king's intention not to use the suspensive veto against the decrees of the present Assembly, but only against acts of future assemblies. Although this exceeded the letter of the agreement, the patriots expected that the present Assembly would confine its legislative activity to constitutional enactments which the king should accept without question. But the royal message was silent on this point.

On the 12th the Assembly voted that the president should submit the decrees of the Fourth of August for the royal sanction. On the 14th Barnave and Mirabeau declared that these decrees were constitutional enactments and binding upon simple promulgation, while Malouet, Virieu, Maury, and Cazalès insisted that they were legislative and, therefore, required the king's sanction.

At this juncture the king took a fateful step in ordering the Regiment of Flanders from Douai to Versailles. The court, incapable as ever of a frank acquiescence in the work of the Revolution, awaited an opportunity for the recovery

of the king's authority. It cherished the project of a royal flight to Metz and the army on the frontier, where the king could summon about him the fugitive nobility and the parliaments, and set out for Paris at the head of the royal troops to suppress the Assembly and restore the Old Régime or at any rate put into effect the terms of the royal declaration of June 23d. In the meantime it was feared that refusal to sanction the decrees of the Fourth of August would provoke an insurrection at Paris. The court alleged that the generally disturbed conditions made the presence of the Regiment of Flanders necessary. On September 18th, two days after the departure of the regiment from Douai, a formal demand for the intervention of the troops was obtained from the municipality of Versailles by Comte d'Estaing, commander of the local National Guard, who alleged that a letter from Lafayette had informed him of imminent peril.

The arrival of the regiment was expected on the 25th. On the 19th the king replied to the Assembly regarding the decrees of the Fourth of August. While expressing positive approval of only a small part of these decrees, he tried to cover his position in regard to the rest by a discussion of legal subtleties. On the next day the Assembly charged its president to go at once to beg the king to promulgate the decrees immediately. By a letter on the 20th the king replied that he ordered the publication of the decrees, which he represented as equivalent to their promulgation. The Assembly was at first misled by the seemingly compliant tone of this communication. The publication of the decrees meant the sending of them to all the courts and administrative bodies throughout the kingdom, a slow process which would necessarily retard their execution. The decrees were printed but did not leave the royal press.

The march to Versailles on October 5, 1789. From the painting by V. C. Prinsep, in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.

CHAPTER II

Versailles Invaded by the Populace

Factors tending to produce a fresh outbreak. The arrival of the Regiment of Flanders at Versailles and the banquet of the evening of October 1st; imprudent conduct of the court. Paris in an uproar. The movement of the populace on Versailles, October 5th. Departure of Lafayette and the National Guard for Versailles. The Assembly and the intrusion of the women from Paris. The king's acceptance of the Declaration of Rights and nineteen articles of the constitution. Disturbance in the evening. The arrival of Lafayette and the National Guard about midnight. The invasion of the palace by the mob on the morning of the 6th. The royal family relieved from peril through the timely intervention of Lafayette. The appearance of the royal family at the balcony and the reconciliation with the people. Removal of the court to Paris on the 6th followed by the Assembly on the 19th. Reflections on the importance of this change.

While these discussions and the expected arrival of additional troops at Versailles kept the Assembly in a state of uneasiness, various forces were at work to produce another popular outbreak in Paris. Municipal elections had repeatedly agitated the populace. On July 25th the assembly of the elected representatives of the commune, 180 in number, had taken the place of the assembly of the electors of Paris, but there was as yet no fundamental statute, such as a municipal constitution or charter. On September 18th the sixty districts of Paris elected an assembly of 300 members to frame a municipal constitution. Then on the 29th the districts compelled the assembly of 300 to summon them to elect a mayor and sixty administrators who were to compose the town council. There was a constant ferment in the sixty districts of Paris. The frequent meetings of the district assemblies were taken up

with vehement discussions on all the political questions of the day. The districts, in fact, assumed a certain degree of autonomy. They treated their representatives in the communal assemblies of Paris as subordinates. They had their committees for all important affairs and pretended to exercise an independent judgment on public policy.

The indignation of Paris had been aroused by the proposed royal veto. The uneasiness of the metropolis was increased by the economic crisis, which was the natural result of the unsettled conditions and was becoming more and more acute. For a century or more Paris had been the world's greatest center of fashion, luxury, and pleasure, and this preëminence had attracted to her the resources of the provinces and of foreign countries. A considerable portion of her industry and trade were dependent on the demand for articles of luxury and the concourse of strangers within her gates. But the market for articles of luxury had been disorganized by the general upheaval throughout France and apprehension was driving away the spenders. The exodus was started by the uprising of July 14th. Between that date and September as many as 200,000 passports were delivered in Paris. A large number of servants as well as artisans was thus deprived of employment and all forms of trade languished. The larger industries were also largely at a standstill.

No account of the popular outbreaks would be complete without consideration of various secret intrigues carried on systematically in France and abroad which threatened the prestige and security of the French monarchy. Some of these had been in progress for a number of years.

An intrigue of the Prussian court was of longest standing, although it had probably produced the least tangible results. Frederick the Great had been deeply chagrined at the

marriage of the French dauphin with Marie Antoinette in 1770, which sealed an alliance between two countries far surpassing Prussia in wealth and power. It became his great ambition to sow seeds of discord and break up the alliance of France and Austria. Von der Goltz was sent in 1772 as Prussian ambassador to the court of Louis XVI with special instructions to this end. Special sums were granted to him and to the diplomatic representative of the King of Prussia elsewhere to be used for bribery and corruption. We may never know how many of the libels and seditious pamphlets published against the Queen of France were circulated by Von der Goltz at the instigation of the King of Prussia. But attempts to inspire French apprehension and suspicion of the emperor's territorial ambitions had little apparent effect and Prince Henry of Prussia was sent in 1784 to assist Von der Goltz, and the same policy was continued. Far from regarding the Revolution in its early stages, with fear or aversion, the Prussian court was secretly delighted at the weakening of France.

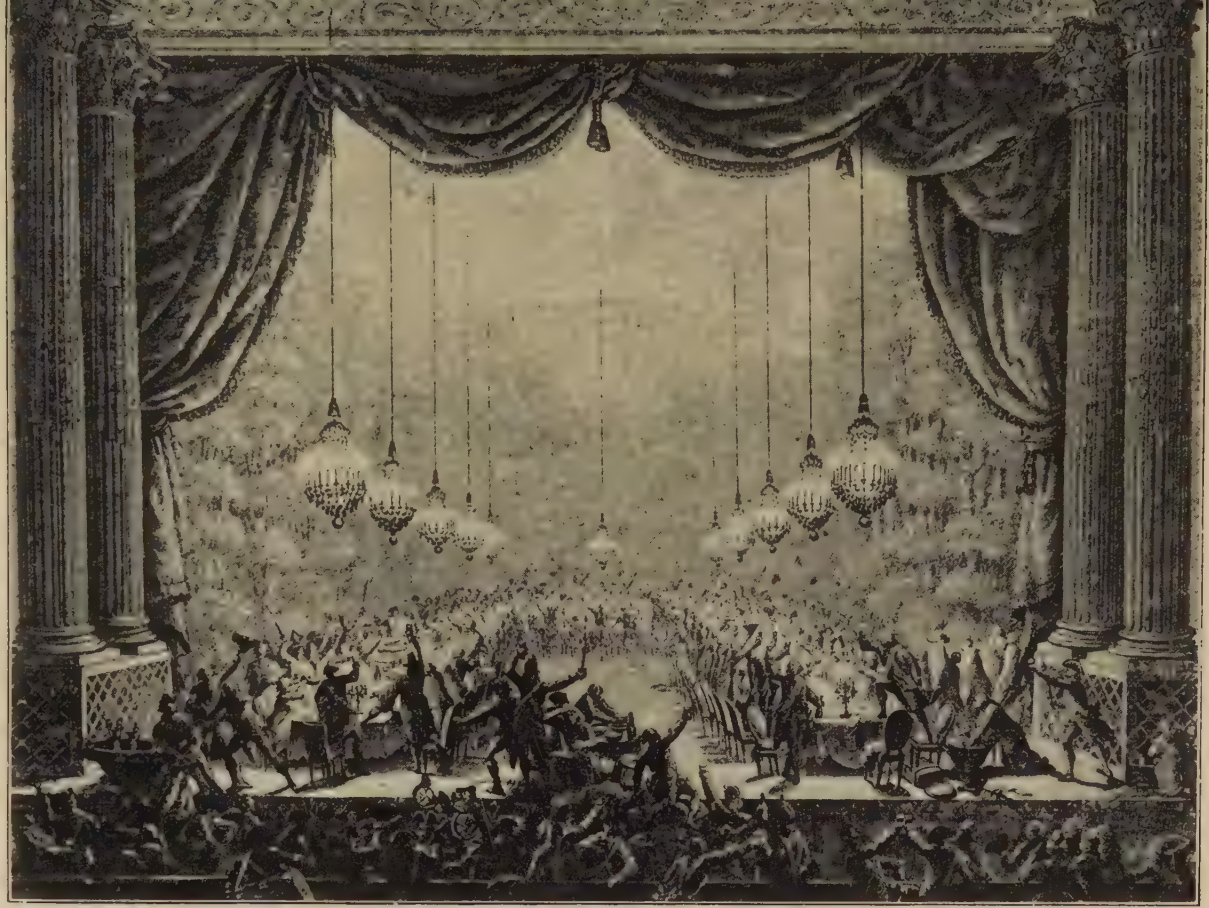
"A king without authority," wrote the minister of Saxony to Berlin just before the march of the populace to Versailles, "a state without money or military power; in a word, a vessel caught in a storm and of which Mirabeau is the only pilot—what importance can France have henceforth in Europe?"

The uneasiness abroad in the social and intellectual world of Western Europe at this time found expression in an anarchical movement among the educated classes. A spurious form of Freemasonary arose, its lodges becoming the haunts of fanatics who plotted the destruction of religion, the abolition of all government and social restraint, and an opportunity for universal plunder. Of this nature was the Order of the Illuminati founded by Dr. Adam Weishaupt,

professor of the University of Ingoldstadt in Bavaria, who adopted the name Spartacus as indicative of his subversive aims and dreamt of a world revolution. His order abjured Christianity, approved of sensual pleasures, and regarded patriotism and loyalty as narrow-minded prejudices incompatible with universal benevolence. They proposed to abolish accumulated wealth, to establish economic as well as political equality, to root out religion and the traditional forms of morality, and to wreck the bonds of domestic life, and they held that any means were justified in attaining their ends. Emissaries of this order were doubtless active in France, disseminating class hatred and obtaining adherents by the promise of unlimited booty.

The dissolute character of Louis-Philippe, fifth Duc d'Orléans in direct descent from the brother of Louis XIV, and the ambition entertained in his behalf by his companions and adherents have been alluded to in the first volume. But the campaign of intrigue conducted under his auspices from the Palais-Royal now became a factor of very great and sinister importance.

Prominent among the duke's confidential councillors was one, General Choderlos de Laclos, who belonged to a poor and recently ennobled family of Spanish origin and who had, in 1788, at the age of forty-seven, been received into the Palais-Royal as *secrétaire des commandements*. The royal power offered little attraction to the duke's sluggish, sensual disposition, but he was fired with a vindictive hatred for the queen who had indignantly rejected his amorous overtures and expelled him from the court. The subsequent banishment of the duke to his property at Villers-Cotterets in consequence of his opposition to fresh taxes proposed by the king in 1787 enabled him to pose as the victim of despotism.



Dinner in the opera house of the palace at Versailles given by the officers of the Body Guards to those of the Flemish and Swiss Guards. The royal family were present as spectators and were enthusiastically acclaimed. From an engraving after the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

The duke's companions, selfishly eager for the advancement of his power and prestige, persuaded him to embrace the popular doctrines of the times, to win the enthusiasm of the multitude by a display of generosity and popular sentiment, and to enlist the support of the liberal leaders. They aimed to make him regent or possibly king. The genius of Laclos devised a formidable system of intrigue which was financed by the duke's millions. Through the services of a large number of unscrupulous agitators the means of publicity were organized, violent demonstrations were engineered, and the passions and prejudices of the throng were played upon. Revolutionary emissaries of the duke had doubtless been instrumental in provoking the atrocities of the period of terror in the summer of 1789.

It is interesting to note that at this time the opposition party in London formed in a sense the counterpart of the duke's party in Paris. Headed by the dissipated Prince of Wales, it maintained a constant opposition to George III, like the faction of the Palais-Royal against Louis XVI in France. In both countries the democratic parties supported the follies and extravagances of dissolute princes, whose similarity of tastes made them very intimate.

The most effective immediate cause of popular insurrection in Paris in 1789, as in Petrograd in March, 1917, was the shortage of food. Although there had been a good harvest in the summer of 1789, the food supply of Paris remained precarious. Disorganized conditions, the prevailing feeling of apprehension, and, to a certain extent, perhaps, speculation interfered with the regular traffic in grain. After the previous bad seasons and in the presence of all sorts of terrifying rumors, the provinces were loath to part with their surplus grain supplies. In our own day the convulsions of war and revolution have inevitably reacted

on the food supply of different countries. It is far from surprising, then, that in an age when the means of transport and distribution were comparatively primitive the agitated condition of France made the provisioning of Paris a critical problem.

But the famine was largely artificial and in part more fabulous than real. Fear of starvation created far more havoc than actual starvation. The conspirators took advantage of popular apprehension in every way. They made people believe that bread was intentionally withheld and that the court and aristocracy were living in scandalous prodigality while the multitude perished. It is claimed that agents of the Duc d'Orléans deliberately bought up considerable supplies of grain so as to keep them out of the market. The populace in different places, roused to a frenzy against supposed monopolizers, destroyed grain in transit and this alarmed the farmers and merchants and restricted the circulation. As a result of these different causes there was doubtless suffering in Paris and the larger towns and the people were driven to a pitch of desperation, but the actual extent of the shortage was exaggerated.

Frenzied political writers and a fierce, licentious press were constantly goading on the populace with new excitements. Prominent among the rapidly increasing number of political journals were the *Point de Jour* of Barère, the *Courrier de Provence* of Mirabeau, the *Patriote Français* of Brissot, the *Revolutions de Paris* of Prudhomme and Loustallot, the *Annales* of Carra and Mercier, the *Orateur du Peuple* of Fréron, and the *Revolutions de France et de Brabant* of Camille Desmoulins. Gorsas, editor of the *Courrier de Paris* à Versailles, lost no opportunity of attacking furiously the court and the queen.

Foremost among them all was Jean Paul Marat, born at Boudry, near Neuchâtel, in French Switzerland, in 1744,

a disciple of Rousseau, great admirer of Montesquieu and of England. He had been physician of the body guard of the Comte d'Artois. Dominated by fanatic attachment to the dogmatic creed of absolute democracy and equality, insanely impatient of all restraint and limitation, an advocate of violent solutions, he became an idol of the populace of Paris, which was deeply stirred by the passionate violence of his pen. A disease of the skin irritated continually Marat's unbalanced temper.

L'Ami du Peuple, a daily sheet crudely printed by Marat himself in the Rue des Cordeliers, was eagerly awaited by the crowd. It professed to be the champion of the poor and oppressed, the opponent of abuse, and the avenger of injustice, and the populace accepted Marat's suspicions and denunciations as established facts. Although Marat had little faith in the sagacity of the people and dreamed of a military tribune or Cæsar in control of the destinies of the state, he demanded with vehemence the equality of political rights which was refused by the wealthy bourgeois and the chiefs of the Assembly.

With Paris in a constant state of agitation and with the popular imagination aroused by all sorts of sensational rumors, thousands among the populace, impelled by hunger, love of excitement, revolutionary zeal, or criminal instincts, were ready to act as soon as the popular orators, the agents of the Duc d'Orléans, or the inflammatory journals gave the signal. It is true that Lafayette had organized the forces of order into the National Guard of Paris, a numerous body, which had its uniform, esteemed its commander, and was inspired with respect for law. But Lafayette was hesitant and uninspiring. With the forces at his command he might have restrained violence, protected the Constituent Assembly from unruly influences, and insured an orderly progress for the Revolution. But

he hesitated to use the power at his command and his genius was not always equal to the critical situations which confronted him. In particular instances his tact and conciliatory spirit assuaged the violence of popular passion and headed off calamity, but in general he followed rather than directed the course of events.

At this critical juncture of affairs the imprudent conduct of the royal family supplied the insurrectionary spark. It was not enough that news of the arrival of the Regiment of Flanders and rumors of the proposed flight of the king to Metz should deeply stir the spirit of Paris. The king and queen seemed to be impelled by a strange infatuation to do the very things that would expose them to misrepresentation and add to the popular indignation.

No sooner had the Regiment of Flanders arrived at Versailles on September 23d than the agitators set to work to corrupt the officers and men. It was even reported that 300 attractive young women of loose habits, picked from the streets of Paris, were sent to Versailles to seduce the troops with blandishments and money. But the loyal troops endeavored to combat the subversive influences. Hence the officers of the Body Guards invited the officers of the Flemish regiment and those of the Swiss Guards and of other bodies of troops at Versailles, including some of those of the National Guard, to a banquet on the evening of October 1st. The court, eager to secure the attachment of the army, offered the opera house of the Palace of Versailles, customarily used for the most solemn functions, for this banquet, at which 210 officers were present. The royal musicians supplied the music.

Some of the sensational details of this banquet that reached the public ear were probably more or less intentional exaggerations or fabulous embellishments. But their effect was momentous. As the feast proceeded the

guests were infused with an ardent spirit of devotion to the crown. When at length the king entered the hall followed by the queen holding the dauphin in her arms, they were greeted with frenzied acclamations and the company with drawn swords drank to the health of the royal family. All reserve was now laid aside. The nation was omitted from the toasts. White cockades were distributed and it was reported that the tricolor, the combination of the royal white with the red and blue of Paris, now regarded as the emblem of the new order, was trampled under foot. Some of the banqueters carried their clamorous demonstration outside into the Court of Marble and even climbed to the balcony of the king's bedchamber.

On the 3d the officers of the Body Guards offered a dinner to the officers of the National Guard, many of whom declined to attend on account of the supposed insult to the national colors.

The news of the banquet of October 1st reaching Paris on the 3d produced a tempest like that created by Necker's dismissal. The populace were informed that, while Paris starved, the court indulged in riotous excess, and that, while the people awaited in vain the confirmation of its liberties, the king's minions exultantly mocked the Revolution.

At this, as at every other critical stage of the Revolution, the real impelling force was supplied by a comparatively small number of men who were actuated for the most part by blind fanaticism or greed, but who were a determined band acting upon the divided, confused, inert masses, and encountering hesitation and timidity on the part of the authorities nominally in power. The conspirators were resolved to take advantage of the prevailing excitement and dissensions to carry out their purposes. The hopes of the Orléanists were thwarted if the king

retained popularity by yielding to popular demands and favoring liberal reforms. It was the deliberate policy of the conspirators to persuade the mob to march to Versailles and either murder the king and queen or the queen alone, or bring the royal family back to Paris. They were mainly anxious to rid themselves of the queen, knowing that the king and his weak ministers could be controlled more easily. But the transference of the royal family to Paris would strip royalty of much of its imaginary impressiveness due to distance and the presence of the king and the Assembly in Paris would make them subject to the force of popular agitation. Mirabeau seems to have known of this scheme, although he was not one of the authors of it. Professional agitators mingled with the citizens in the cafés and clubs of Paris, spreading calumny and terror, stirring up a panic on the question of the royal veto and the famine, and the vagueness of the notions of the masses facilitated their task.

A great crowd filled the Palais-Royal on Sunday, October 4th. Many women, even some of the middle class, raised the cry for bread and talked of going to Versailles to demand it of the king and to bring him to Paris. The popular orators urged an expedition to Versailles.

On the 5th Paris was aflame with insurrection. The populace were determined to have bread, an end of their misery, vengeance for the insult to the national cockade, the royal sanction for the constitutional decrees, and the transfer of the king to Paris away from the counter-revolutionary environment. A girl started through the streets beating a drum and calling for bread. She was joined by a crowd, mainly of women, which constantly increased as it approached the Hôtel de Ville. The crowd forced its way into the building, armed themselves, and sounded the tocsin. A delegation of women, admitted to

the presence of the mayor and representatives of the commune, declared their intention of going to Versailles. The seething throng in the Place de Grève awaited only a signal to action.

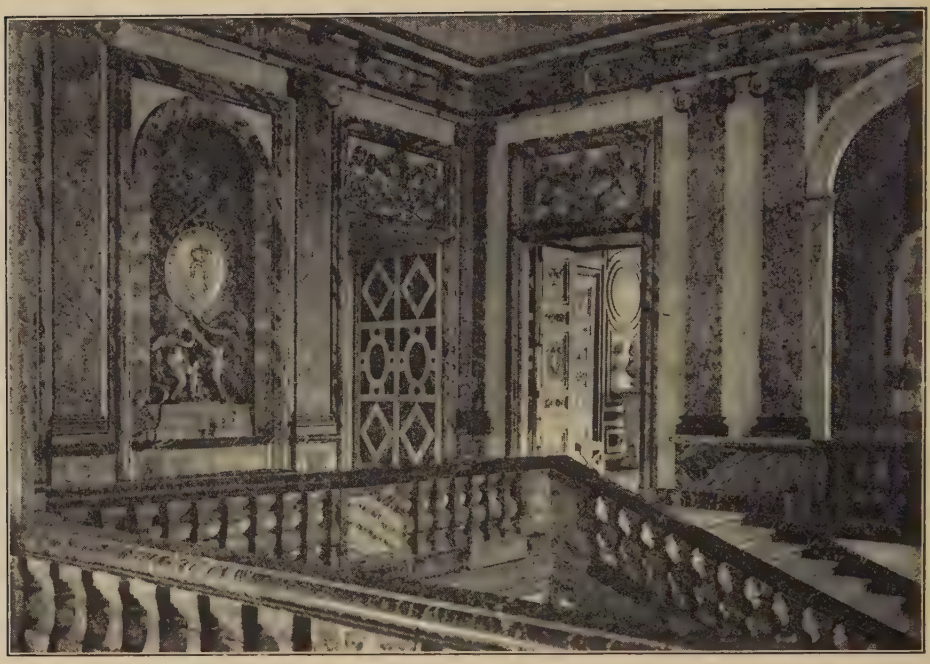
The volunteers of the Bastille arrived on the square. Their leader, Stanislas Maillard, summoned the people to follow him to Versailles and instantly the crowd was in motion. It swelled as it advanced and Maillard was soon at the head of a motley host, including about 6,000 women. Some of these were veritable divinities of fury. Among them was Theroigne de Méricourt, *femme galante*, friend of many of the popular leaders, having imbibed their doctrines, who, dressed in a warlike costume, carrying sword and pistols, mounted on a horse, with vigorous eloquence influenced the crowd and increased the turbulent excitement. With frenzied impulse humanity struck at the supposed cause of its misery. The populace surged along the road, a lava stream from the volcanic cauldron that was Paris. Among them were the wild faces of the desperate element to whom insurrection is an opportunity for crime and bestial gratification. There were ruffians and harlots, laboring people of all classes, rags and elegance. Some of the women had powdered hair and were dressed in white as for a joyous festival. Many of the conspirators and their agents are said to have mingled with the crowd disguised as women. This host, starting without any preparation, soon felt the pangs of hunger. In passing they pillaged the bakeries and provision shops of Sèvres. Rain and wind increased their discomfort. Many had been bribed to come and others who had been prevailed upon through intimidation or drawn involuntarily into the stream, ignorant of the real purpose of the adventure, bitterly regretted their departure from Paris and might have returned if they had dared. Reaching Versailles towards nightfall, wet and

bedraggled, they kindled great fires and prepared to bivouac in the broad avenues and open places.

Meanwhile the National Guard, including many of the former French Guards, had assembled before the Hôtel de Ville in Paris and demanded to be led to Versailles. Lafayette, hesitant, recoiling from any step that might seem to encourage violence or to be disloyal to the crown, restrained them with difficulty. His opposition exasperated the multitude, whose attitude became defiant and even threatening. At four o'clock he informed the representatives of the commune that further resistance was useless and the municipal government sanctioned what it was powerless to prevent. Accordingly, Lafayette set out at the head of 15,000 of the National Guard followed by many irregular volunteers.

At Versailles the Assembly, irritated at the king's refusal to accept the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, had been engaged in an animated discussion of the fateful banquets. Late in the afternoon their deliberations were interrupted by the sudden intrusion of Maillard and a deputation of twenty women who in furious tones denounced the monoplizers of grain. The Assembly resolved to send a deputation to the king to demand his acceptance of the Declaration of Rights and nineteen articles of the constitution which had been adopted relative to the veto and the organization of powers and to urge the prompt revictualling of Paris. The king, informed of events at Versailles, hastened back from the Forest of Meudon, where he had been hunting, and the queen returned to the palace from her favorite haunt at Petit Trianon.

Mounier and the deputation, of which he was the head, six deputies of the Assembly and six women, who were joined by six other women, made their way with difficulty



The queen's staircase in the palace at Versailles, up which the mob surged to the queen's apartments on the morning of October 6, 1789.

The mob in the queen's bedroom at Versailles, after Marie Antoinette had escaped to the king's apartments, on the morning of October 6, 1789. From the sketch by H. de la Charlerie.

through the crowd in the Place d'Armes, which had become a sea of pikes and muskets. The king received them with his customary graciousness.

"Sire, we want bread," said Louison Chabry, a pretty flower-girl of seventeen from the Palais-Royal, as speaker for the women.

"I will order all the bread in Versailles to be collected and given to you," declared the king.

Louison, overcome by emotion at the king's goodness, fainted. When she recovered her senses, she begged to kiss the the king's hand.

"She deserves better than that," said the king, and embraced her.

Returning triumphantly to the waiting multitude, the women of the delegation were dismayed to find themselves received with execration and reviled as dupes or cheats. A woman in the crowd, taking off her garter, seized one of the women delegates and dragged her towards a lamp-post and might have hung her but for the intervention of a guardsman. The crowd demanded written proof of the king's intentions and the delegation returned to the royal presence and came back with the king's signed order.

Mounier persuaded the king to sanction the articles of the constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

But there was a serious conflict between the Body Guards stationed in front of the palace and the National Guard and populace, the latter irritated by hardship and discomfort. There are conflicting accounts of the cause of the outbreak, but it would appear that the insults and violence of the crowd finally broke the patience of the Body Guards and provoked retaliation. The king ordered the Body Guards to withdraw and they were followed by the mob

with shots and blows. The populace, regarding the Body Guards as the assailants, remained sullen and defiant.

The court had but a comparatively small number of troops at its disposal, some of whom were already infused with revolutionary sentiment, and Versailles was teeming with an unruly multitude. The situation was terrifying. The plan of flight for the royal family was urged and many of the moderate deputies of the Assembly promised to follow the king wherever he should summon their body. Carriages were actually gotten ready, but were noticed by a picket of the National Guard at the Gate of the Orangery. The gate was accordingly closed and guarded. At the advice of Necker the king finally rejected the idea of flight. The arrival of Lafayette with the large force of National Guard and volunteers about midnight relieved the anxiety of the king and the royal family retired about two A.M. The fury of the multitude had seemingly subsided and Lafayette repaired to the Hôtel de Noailles to snatch some hours of repose, believing that he had taken all necessary precautions to insure order.

But the determination of the populace, or rather of the conspirators, was not to be thwarted. Some restless individuals, astir before daybreak, found the gate in the palace grating near the chapel open. The information spread and the crowd penetrated the enclosure about six. A member of the Body Guards standing at a window replied to their insults with a shot which wounded one of the people. The crowd fell on the guardsmen who defended the approach to the palace with great heroism as they were forced back step by step by vastly superior numbers.

It is important to notice the plan of the central portion of the Palace of Versailles which the mob penetrated. This consists of a main section extending north and south, which contains the celebrated Hall of Mirrors and presents

an unbroken façade on the side of the gardens to the west, and two wings running eastward from this main section, symmetrical in their general outline but unlike in the interior arrangement of their rooms. At two points the sides of the wings facing the intervening space project inward, dividing the enclosed area into three different sections diminishing in width from east to west. The innermost and narrowest of these sections is the Court of Marble. The royal state bedchamber occupies the main floor of the palace, in the central axis of the courts, and its three windows with balcony in front open onto the Court of Marble. It is adjoined on the south by an anteroom called the Oeil de Boeuf, or Bull's Eye, from an elliptically-shaped window high up on the south wall. The corresponding position on the north side of the royal bedchamber is occupied by the council room. The apartments forming the queen's suite are on the south side of the south wing, facing the gardens and the Lake of the Swiss Guards, and the series of royal reception rooms has a corresponding situation on the north side of the north wing. All these rooms are on the principal floor of the palace, one flight above the ground.

The principal entrance and stairway, originally in the central section of the north wing and entered from the court, gave way under Louis XV to the private apartments of his daughters. In the period under discussion the principal entrance was on the south side of the court and admitted to the Escalier de Marbre, or Marble Stairway, the common approach to the Oeil de Boeuf and state bedchamber of the king and to the queen's apartments. Turning to the right at the head of the stairs one passed successively through the Hall of the Queen's Guards, the great antechamber, and the antechamber, to reach the queen's bedchamber, and to the left through the Hall of

the King's Guards and the antechamber to reach the Oeil de Boeuf and the state bedchamber of the king.

Marie Antoinette slept on the eventful night of October 5th-6th in the bedchamber of the queen's apartments.

The mob, encountering no resistance from the Paris militia, burst into the Cour Royal, the middle court, and threw themselves onto the Body Guards with wild ferocity. One guardsman, the brave Deshuttes, fell pierced with a hundred wounds. A ruffian, Jourdan by name, henceforth known as Coupe-Tête, or Decapitator, cut off the head of Deshuttes and smeared his own face, arms, and beard with the blood of the victim, and the mab danced round the corpse in fiendish delight.

Like a pack of wild beasts that had its first taste of blood, the mob rushed up the Marble Stairway and headed towards the Hall of the Queen's Guards as though guided by secret emissaries familiar with the palace. The twelve guardsmen in attendance closed the door in the face of the frenzied multitude but the panels were quickly broken in by blows of pike and musket and the crowd poured into the hall. One of the guards, De Varicourt, was killed and his head was severed and paraded on a pike along with Deshuttes'. The guards were driven towards the great hall, the next apartment on the east, but one of them, Miomandre, his face streaming with blood, rushed to the door of the great antechamber, opened it, and cried to Madame Augué, one of the ladies in attendance: "Madame, save the queen, they have come to kill her! I am here alone against two thousand tigers; my comrades have been forced to leave their hall!"

Hastily shutting and bolting the door, Madame Augué flew to the queen's bedside, bidding her escape at once. The queen sprang out of bed and the ladies in attendance threw a few clothes over her and hurried her through a

Louis XVI and the royal family during the attack on the palace of Versailles on October 6, 1789. Early in the morning the mob, which had come from Paris the day before, broke into the palace and forced its way to the bedchamber of the queen, who leaving her bed fled to the king's apartments, the mob following, breaking down doors and killing the guards. Lafayette and the National Guard arrived just in time to prevent the king's apartments being invaded. From the original painting by L. Baader.

narrow, private passage which connects her bedchamber with the Oeil de Boeuf. The door at the end of this passage was locked and the frantic women had to wait five minutes until a servant opened it from the side of the Oeil de Boeuf and the queen reached the king's apartments in safety.

Meanwhile three guardsmen were defending themselves desperately against the onslaught of the wild horde in front of the door of the great antechamber. Miomandre, thrown to the floor by a blow from a pike and struck on the head with the butt-end of a musket, was left for dead. The crowd beat down the door and streamed through the intervening rooms to the bedchamber which the queen had just vacated. In their disappointed fury some of the ruffians slashed the bedclothes with their sabres and plunged their pikes into the mattress. Undismayed by the partial check in their plans, the mob pressed on, either by the Hall of Mirrors or through the Hall of the King's Body Guards, to overwhelm the few remaining guards in the Oeil de Boeuf and thus reach the royal family.

The royal family was in extreme peril when Lafayette, informed of the invasion of the palace, rode hastily to the scene of danger. Approaching the palace, he came upon a number of the Body Guards surrounded by the furious populace who threatened to massacre them. Never lacking in personal courage, he called a few of the French Guards who were near, threw himself into the midst of the tumult, dispersed the assailants, and saved the Body Guards. Detachments of the National Guard had already reached the royal apartments.

Making his way into the palace, Lafayette reconciled the National Guard with the King's Body Guards and cleared the corridors and halls. The members of the Body Guards appeared at the windows overlooking the

Court of Marble, waving their hats adorned with tricolor cockades and crying: "Long live the nation! Long live the king!"—"Long live the Body Guards!" shouted the people in response.

The king, queen, and dauphin, with Lafayette, appeared at the balcony. The people cried: "Long live the king!" The king was too overcome to speak and Lafayette addressed the crowd. Then they returned into the chamber. The people demanded the queen. She reappeared on the balcony with her daughter and the dauphin. The cry arose: "To Paris! To Paris!" The queen retired and declared that she was resolved to accompany the king to Paris. Lafayette wished to reconcile her with the multitude. He reappeared with her alone on the balcony. He was unable to make himself heard, but, to overcome the animosity of the throng and to arouse its enthusiasm, he respectfully kissed the hand of the queen. This appealed to the sentiment of the crowd which cried: "Long live the general! Long live the queen!" The king reappeard on the balcony and the crowd shouted: "The king to Paris!" The king replied: "My friends, I shall go to Paris with my wife and children. To the love of my good and faithful subjects I confide what is most precious to me." He added: "My Body Guards have been calumniated. Their fidelity to the nation and to me should preserve for them the esteem of my people." The crowd replied with cheers: "Long live the king! Long live the nation! Long live the Body Guards!"

The Royal Council met and decided on the departure for Paris without discussion. The members of the Assembly, wearied after their long session of the evening before, which had lasted until three in the morning, did not convene until eleven. As the king asked the advice of the Assembly, several members of the Right and the

moderates proposed that the entire body adjourn to the Salon of Hercules in the palace. But Mirabeau opposed this proposal and instead a deputation of thirty-six members was named to confer with the king. Then the Assembly declared itself to be inseparable from the person of the sovereign and thus implied that it would go to Paris. The deputation took this decree to the king, who declared it to be his wish never to be separated from the Assembly.

The firing of cannon at one o'clock announced that the long period of royal residence at Versailles was at an end. The royal family, accompanied by the National Guard and the populace, set out for Paris. A curious procession passed out along the Avenue de Paris. The National Guard formed the head. Next came wagons of grain and flour covered with foliage, furnished by the bakers of Versailles. These were surrounded by women. Some of the women were covered with tricolor cockades. Others, mounted on the horses of the Body Guards or on the pieces of artillery, carried green branches ornamented with ribbons. In the midst of the former French Guards marched the Body Guards without arms, wearing the caps of the National Guard with the tricolor cockade. After them came the Regiment of Flanders and the Swiss Guards. The king rode in a coach with the queen, the dauphin and his sister, the Comte de Provence, Madame Elisabeth, and a governess. Lafayette rode by the side of the coach. About a hundred members of the Assembly followed in carriages. Then came the crowd, singing an improvised chorus: "We are bringing you the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy," while the bulk of the National Guard brought up the rear. The procession moved slowly in the rain and mud.

Bailly and the representatives of the commune received the king at the Barrière de la Conférence. The royal

family reached the Hôtel de Ville about eight in the evening and were greeted with a delirium of popular enthusiasm. The king was received in the great hall and the royal family appearing at the windows above the square were acclaimed with transports of joy. At ten the royal family and their retinue repaired to the Palace of the Tuileries, deserted by royalty since the reign of Louis XIV, which was to be their place of residence.

Although the Assembly had resolved on October 6th that they and the king were inseparable, many of the deputies very justly feared the influence of the lawless element in Paris over their proceedings. But the commune of Paris assured them that order had been restored and on the 12th the Assembly voted to remove to Paris and on the 19th they entered the metropolis amid a great deployment of armed forces and were installed in the archiepiscopal palace. This proving altogether unsuitable for their sessions, they moved on November 9th to the Manége, or riding-school, a building adjoining the Gardens of the Tuileries near the present corner of the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue de Castiglione. It was a long, narrow hall, and likewise ill-adapted for the purpose. From the tribune at one end it was difficult for a speaker to make himself heard throughout the hall. At the end opposite the tribune was the platform for the president and six secretaries. In front of them stood the bar from which petitioners addressed their entreaties to the chamber.

Lafayette, disgusted by the atrocities committed by the rabble at Versailles and convinced of the complicity of the Duc d'Orléans, of which he claimed to have proof, threatened in a private interview to bring him before a court of justice within twenty-four hours unless he left France at once. But the king, wishing to spare his cousin's feelings, sent the duke on a pretended diplomatic

'The baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy.'' Satirical print of the time on the removal to Paris of the royal family.

The king and the royal family arriving in Paris from Versailles, escorted by the populace, on October 6, 1789. From an engraving after the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

mission to England to hide his virtual banishment from the kingdom.

But in November the Court of the Châtelet, which had been established after the fall of the Bastille to try cases of disorder and violations of the public peace, opened an inquiry into the events of October 5th and 6th. A great number of witnesses of all classes testified against the maneuvers of the Duc d'Orléans and his supporters and a report was finally published showing in detail how the march to Versailles had been prepared. On August 5, 1790, the magistrates unanimously declared the Duc d'Orléans and Mirabeau worthy of arrest and on the next day the evidence against them was submitted to the Assembly.

But the faction of the duke was still too powerful. The Assembly, cowed by the firey eloquence of Mirabeau, who declared that the Revolution itself, and not the events of October 5-6, 1789, was being brought to trial, reversed the judgment of the Châtelet and declared the Duc d'Orléans and Mirabeau innocent.

Mounier, who had gone into banishment in Switzerland, denounced in his Appeal to the Tribunal of Public Opinion the report of Chabroud to the Assembly, on the basis of which the duke and Mirabeau had been absolved.

"I can conceive nothing so revolting," he declared, "as the efforts of M. Chabroud to justify the most frightful crimes, his indulgence towards the assassins, his hatred for the victims, his outrages against the witnesses and against the judges, the threatening tone of the Duc d'Orléans and the Comte de Mirabeau, and the eagerness with which the conclusions of the reporter were hastily admitted without examination and without discussion."

It is not to be supposed, however, that the conspirators could have stirred up such a popular insurrection, had

more general causes, idleness, hunger, and fear, the folly of the court, and the rumors of a proposed royal flight and of counter-revolutionary plots, not predisposed them to respond to agitation.

The recovery of the king by Paris was an event of far-reaching importance which ushered in a new stage in the progress of the Revolution. It had been 107 years since Louis XIV abandoned Paris for Versailles. The significance of that error has already been explained. Royalty left Paris at the very zenith of its pride and splendor. It returned humbled and weakened on the eve of its extinction. Henceforth, although surrounded by the pomp of the Tuileries, and with the appearances of royal power greater than that of any other monarch, the king and queen and their confidential companions felt themselves imprisoned and their absorbing preoccupation was their personal safety.

But the king still possessed the affection of his subjects. The Parisians sincerely rejoiced at his presence in their midst. By tact and courage he might yet have made himself popular and moderated the progress of the Revolution.

Again, as on July 14th, a popular impulse had sustained the demands of the Assembly in spite of the Assembly itself and won a far-reaching victory for the Revolution. The Assembly carried on its labors henceforth in the midst of the turbulent life of Paris. Its deliberations were exposed to popular scrutiny and liable to interruption, and with the inadequacy of communications throughout the country and the comparative isolation of local life, the presence of the Parisian populace at the scene of legislative activity, their unity of impulse, organization, and vehemence gave them an entirely disproportionate influence in the national counsels.

CHAPTER III

The Reformers and their Reforms

Parties and their leaders in the Assembly. Prevailing influence of Sieyès and Mirabeau. Mounier's departure and futile attempt to incite a revolt in Dauphiné. Reorganization of the territorial administration of France; departments, districts, cantons, and communes. Society and the church. The financial difficulties of the Revolution the incentive to interference in the affairs of the church. The ecclesiastical property placed at the disposal of the state. Decision to sell ecclesiastical property to meet pressing needs of treasury. The assignats. Settlement of the religious orders. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Its principal provisions; reduction in the number of the dioceses, election of the bishops and curés, salaries of the clergy. Unfortunate results of the measure.

In October, 1789, the Revolution had been achieved in principle. The Assembly had decreed the abolition of privilege and of every form of feudal servitude. It had proclaimed the equality of all citizens before the law and the popular source of all authority. It was now its task to recast the laws in conformity with the Rights of Man which it had proclaimed. The decrees passed in August had not yet been systematically applied. The old institutions survived. The representatives of the old order resisted the application of the new principles as long as possible. The people were impatient. Encouraged by the declarations of the Assembly, they refused to pay the seigneurial dues or the tithes. They invaded the forests and preserves and chased the game. There was inevitably a situation of confusion, uncertainty, and suspense, when the Assembly had to contend both with the impatience of

the great mass of the people and the hostility of the aristocracy.

The difficulties of the Assembly were increased by some unfavorable conditions in which its labors were carried on. Its presidents were elected for periods of only fifteen days each, lest single members should become too powerful. The public was present at the sessions in the Manége and often interrupted the deliberations. Bills were usually proposed by the committees, thirty-one in number, which met in the nearby convent of the Feuillants and the convent of the Capucins Saint-Honoré. Chief among them were the committees for the constitution, diplomatic affairs, the military, feudal rights, ecclesiastical matters, finance, alienation, researches, and reports.

As the attention of the Assembly turned from the formulation of general principles to the practical application of them, the division into groups and parties became more pronounced. Parties and groups in the Assembly were distinguished by the part of the chamber in which they sat. It is customary in France for members to address legislative bodies from a raised platform, called the tribune, facing the chamber. The terms Right and Left denoting the position of the different parties in the chamber are applied with reference to one facing the Assembly from the tribune in front of the chamber. On the right of the chamber, as already observed, sat the extreme conservative party. It was the court party of the former privileged aristocracy and contained fanatics who had never been reconciled to the union of the orders and who hoped to see the Old Régime restored without essential modification, as well as members of the nobility and higher clergy who, although they responded to the general enthusiasm of the Assembly in moments of exaltation, were generally guided by consideration for their private interests. The leaders

of this party were the Abbé Maury and Cazales. The former was talented but superficial. The latter was a forceful orator who spoke with the clearness and ardor that spring from conviction.

A small moderate party supported Necker and the ministry. It included a minority of the nobility and part of the bishops, enlightened intellectuals who admired the British Constitution. Their leaders, as we have seen, were Mounier and Lally-Tollendal. This party was later known as the Monarchists. They vainly endeavored to keep their mild, conciliatory attitude in an age of fire and passion.

The breach in the national party has already been considered. The party of the Left was led by the triumvirate of Duport, Barnave, and Alexandre Lameth, brother of Comte Charles. The opinions of this group were prepared by Duport and were sustained in the Assembly by the eloquence of Barnave, while Lameth directed its policy. Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, born of a Protestant family at Grenoble, October 22, 1761, was a man of handsome appearance and graceful manner, who early attracted attention as a lawyer. He was deputy in the provincial estates of Dauphiné before being sent as representative of the Third Estate to the States General. From this period dates the growing influence of the Jacobin Club with which the leading members of the Left were identified. It had originated before the Assembly left Versailles as a small group of Breton deputies who met occasionally to discuss events and the questions of the hour and was known as the Breton Club. When the Assembly moved to Paris this club held its meetings in the refectory, later the library, of the convent of the Dominican friars close to the Rue Saint-Honoré, commonly known as the Jacobins, because the principal convent of the order in Paris was in the Rue Saint-Jacques. This revolutionary center,

started under the name of "Friends of the Constitution," was commonly called the Jacobins from its place of meeting.

Before quitting Versailles the Breton deputies who formed the nucleus of the club, had been joined by many representatives from other provinces, notably Sieyès, Mirabeau, Bailly, the brothers de Lameth, Barnave, Duport, and Robespierre. After the installation of the society in Paris the membership spread outside the Assembly, including, besides the deputies, such prominent names as the painter David, the physician Cabanis, the botanist Thouin, the learned Condorcet, Choderlos de Laclos, and the journalists Camille Desmoulins, Fréron, Gorsas, and Brune. Many of the members belonged to the Masonic lodges which had spread rapidly throughout the towns of France in the eighteenth century and became centers for the propagation of liberal or radical opinions. The Jacobins in Paris only admitted citizens possessing the right of suffrage who paid annual dues of twenty-four livres and others on invitation, but its popular influence increased rapidly. The Jacobins became increasingly radical in accord with the general tendency in the democratic party and the ability and unscrupulous energy of their leaders soon made them the dominating revolutionary force.

To prevent the waning of revolutionary sentiment Duport conceived and carried out a confederation of clubs throughout the country, which gave immense energy to the Revolution when vigorous efforts were needed to sustain it. Thus by means of affiliated societies the influence of the Jacobins was spread far and wide in France and became a factor of vast importance.

In a general sense the most influential members of the Constituent Assembly were Sieyès and Mirabeau. The Abbé Sieyès, then in his forty-second year, might be

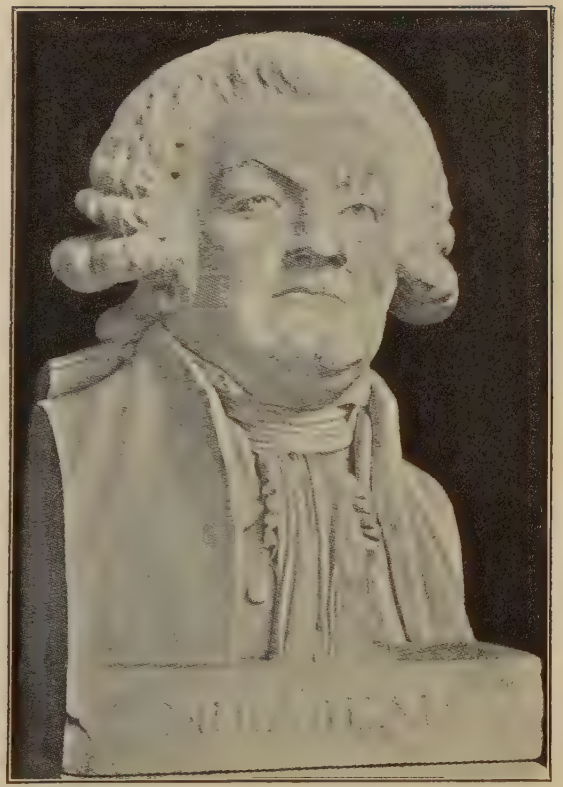
regarded as the most perfect representative of the Revolution. His intelligence had been formed by attentive study of the leading French and English writers of the age, politicians, economists, and philosophers. True to the spirit of the century, his mind, disdaining the trammels of custom and of human experience as taught by history, acknowledged reason as its only guide and sought to evolve the universal laws of human society. Having stirred the nation by the coherent logic of his political pamphlets, he was regarded with great reverence as the oracle of the Revolution. But Sieyès lost confidence in the Assembly. He regarded monarchy, properly limited and controlled, as an essential factor for securing the liberty which is conferred by society. Liberal rather than intensely democratic in his views, he favored an indirect system of voting and the exclusion from the right of suffrage of those who paid no taxes. While declaring that all just power emanates from the will of the nation alone, he proposed to restrict its exercise. Sieyès was not a great orator. His power lay in the force of his convictions and in the clearness and compelling character of his doctrine. His genius exercised a dominating influence in the work of the committees in framing legislation.

The ascendency of Mirabeau in the tribune was no less conspicuous than that of Sieyès in the committee rooms. His energy, enthusiasm, and intensity of expression were phenomenal. He swayed the Assembly by persuasive eloquence or terrible invective. His vehement, imperious nature, rising to heights of passionate inspiration, launched dazzling, epigramatic shafts, that dismayed and silenced his enemies. But he had constantly to contend with opposition inspired by abhorrence of his private life.

The compulsory removal of the king and court to Paris established the preponderance of democracy. The Left

was in a position to carry out in almost every department of the government and administration its own interpretation of the Rights of Man. It was dominated by two main ideas. It distrusted the king as one convicted of having exercised absolute power and it was persuaded that individual liberty required no special guarantees under a popular government controlled by public opinion. The effect of these views was the tendency of the party of the Left to reduce the executive to a condition of weakness, depriving it of all capacity to restrict the independence of the legislative power, in which the popular majority held sway. The independence of the legislative power was also supported by theorists who believed in the separation of powers. But among the moderates there were many who believed that in this critical period the salvation of society and the protection of individual rights, as that of property, depended upon a vigorous executive.

Every violent step in the Revolution was followed by the departure of the discomfited in large numbers from France. The emigration of courtiers and of the nobility followed the Fourteenth of July. The Assembly had its emigration after October 5th and 6th. The radicals were thus strengthened by the disappearance of many of their chief opponents. Mounier was the first to go. The invasion of Versailles by the populace occurred while he was president of the Assembly and he resigned his seat with indignation and withdrew to his own province, Dauphiné, which he tried to rouse against the Assembly as having betrayed its mandate and renounced its constituents. At his instigation the standing committee convoked the provincial estates. But on October 16th the Constituent Assembly forbade all assemblies of the orders and all provincial assemblies. The prospect of resistance vanished. Dauphiné, the home and basis of Mounier's



Marble bust of Mirabeau attributed to Houdon,
in the gallery at Versailles.

Pastel of Mirabeau by Michel-Honoré Bounieu,
in the gallery at Versailles.

influence, rejected him and he went into exile in Switzerland.

The example of Mounier was followed by Lally-Tollendal, who renounced his French citizenship and went to England, the country of his forefathers, and by a large number of moderates who despaired of their country as soon as their ideas ceased to be followed and who, by rejecting further responsibility, helped to bring on the evil which they foresaw.

Mounier's attempt to stir up rebellion in Dauphiné warned the Assembly that discontented elements of the privileged orders, appealing to the local spirit of independence and jealousy of the central authority, might use the provincial estates as rallying points of resistance. The effect was to hasten the establishment of a new territorial organization for the administration of the country.

Down to this time the historic provinces of France had maintained their distinctive peculiarities, customs, laws, and dialects, and had clung to their particular interests and traditions, living in a sense a life apart. The country, as explained in Volume I, was divided into many classes of territorial circumscriptions, large and small, many of which had become entirely obsolete and existed only as historical curiosities. The largest and most important of the administrative divisions were the thirty-two généralités, or departments of the intendants. But their size encouraged particularistic interests and aspirations and was unfavorable, in an age of inadequate means of communication, to promptness and efficiency of administrative action.

The internal unity of France, which was one of the aims of the Revolution, required that the regional spirit should be merged in the larger national patriotism. The suppression of the oldtime divisions with which the particularistic tendencies of local life were identified and the substitution

for them of a system based on purely geographical or theoretical considerations seemed to be the first essential step in this direction.

The Assembly proceeded to sweep away the chaotic medley of overlapping areas and to establish a uniform system of division of the kingdom to serve alike as territorial basis for the political, judicial, and military, and eventually the ecclesiastical, administration of the country, as well as for the election of the national representation.

The committee on the constitution was charged with the preparation of the great project of local administration. The first proposal was characteristic of the prevailing subservience to abstract ideals. A purely geometric plan was proposed, the division of the kingdom into eighty square departments, each having an area of 324 square leagues, without any reference to physical features, relative density of population, or convenience of communication. Each of these square departments was to be divided into nine square districts, and each district into nine square cantons. But this scheme provoked too many protests and was abandoned as impractical.

By decree of December 22, 1789, the Assembly established the number of departments as from seventy-five to eighty-five, leaving the delimitation of the respective departments to the deputies immediately interested. The representatives of each province conferred among themselves and with those of the neighboring provinces and in the last instance with the committee on the constitution and the great work of delimitation was carried out with remarkable expedition. By January 15, 1790, the Assembly settled upon eighty-three as the number of departments, and by February 26th their boundaries, names, and and capitals had all been fixed.

That the old local distinctions, based on historical and political circumstances, might the sooner be forgotten, the names of the new departments were derived from conspicuous geographic features, such as seas, rivers, and mountains, which suggested their location.

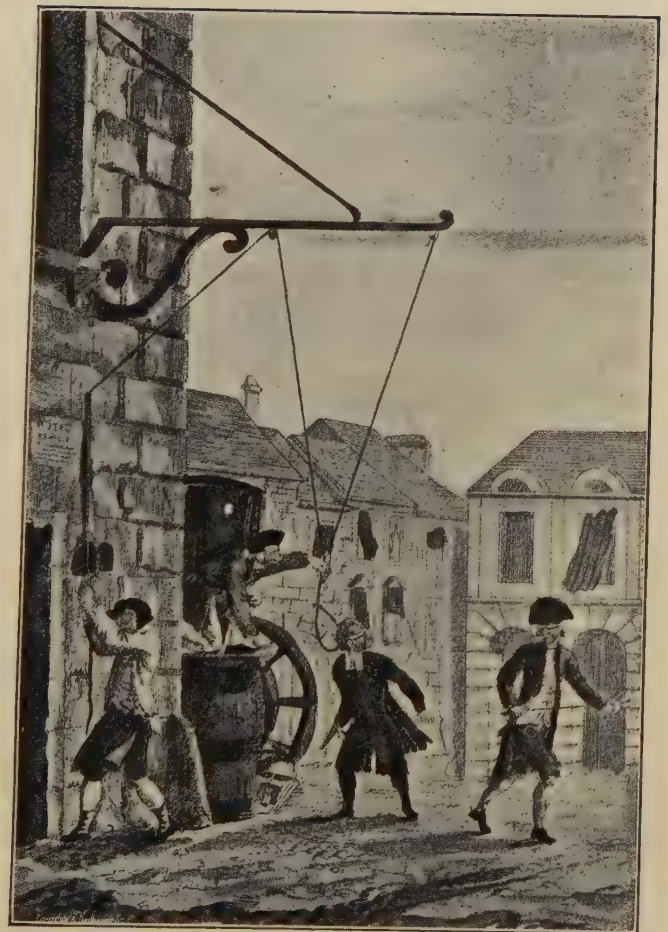
The departments were divided into districts and the districts into cantons. Their administration was organized in a strictly uniform and hierarchical manner. The department had a council general of thirty-six members, of whom eighteen formed the executive directory. The district had a smaller council and directory, which were dependent on those of the department. The canton, made up of five or six parishes, was an electoral and judicial, rather than an administrative, division. The citizens having the right to vote (those paying taxes equivalent to three days' labor) assembled in the cantons for the elections leading to the choice of their deputies and magistrates. The system of election was an indirect one. The primary assemblies in the cantons designated the secondary electors who chose the representatives of the department in the National Assembly, the administrators of the department and of the district, and the judges. A criminal court was established in each department, a civil court in each district, and a justice of the peace in each canton.

Municipal administration was regulated by a decree of December 14, 1789. The citizens possessing the franchise elected the mayor, the members of the municipal corporation, whose number varied from three to twenty-one, according to the population of the commune, and notables of double this number. Together these formed the general council of the commune, which was only summoned to meet for important business. The right to demand the intervention of the military forces and to proclaim martial law conferred on the municipal governments enabled them

to assume a sort of dictatorial power which could be used in the interest of the bourgeoise, then generally in ascendency, against either of the extreme factions. Paris had a special form of municipality which was an exception to the system here described.

Popular ferment in Paris diminished after the outbreak of October 5th and 6th. Lafayette was determined to maintain order. The National Guard of the metropolis was acquiring the habit of discipline and obedience. Its strength was about 30,000 men, of whom 6,000, were former soldiers, French Guards, or others, received pay. The municipal administration of Paris was emerging from the first period of confusion and uncertainty and was assuming greater assurance of authority. But in spite of the devotion of the committee on the food supply, fear of famine remained, provoking riotous assemblages which disturbed public tranquillity. The populace massacred a baker, François by name, who was falsely accused of profiteering. On October 21st a martial law was proclaimed authorizing the municipality to use force to quell disorderly gatherings after having summoned the people to disperse. Gradually the crisis at Paris abated. The city was better provisioned and the price of bread fell. A relative degree of tranquillity was restored.

But while the attention of the Assembly was mainly taken up with the discussion of the great legislative questions, the financial situation became ever more serious. A loan of 30,000,000 livres decreed on August 9th had been a failure. Another of 80,000,000 livres authorized on the 27th of the same month was utterly insufficient. Many taxes had been reduced or abolished through the Revolution. With the general state of confusion throughout the kingdom and the consequent difficulties in the collection of taxes, ordinary public revenue had almost vanished. In



"Eh! l'Abbé, prends garde à la lanterne car ils sont plus forts que nous." Satirical print of the period warning the clergy to conform to the new laws.

"Lafayette treated as he deserves by the democrats and the aristocrats." Caricature of the period showing Lafayette's fall from popularity.

September the Assembly had adopted Necker's proposal of an extraordinary patriotic contribution of a fourth of private income, but the measure brought only temporary relief. The financial problem of the Revolution required a far more fundamental solution.

Although the cause of progress in the early stages of the great movement of 1789 had depended for success in critical moments on the support of a majority of the clerical delegation of the States General and some of the French prelates were numbered among the most enlightened reformers, a series of injudicious or hostile measures eventually exasperated the clergy as a class and made the Revolution odious to a considerable part of the nation, provoking a disastrous conflict and bitter persecution which left a heritage of misunderstanding and suspicion that have never been entirely effaced. Perhaps no single aspect of the general period under consideration equals in importance the antagonism which arose between the Revolution and the church. Yet the doctrines of the two were not essentially incompatible. The Revolution was not necessarily an enemy of the church, nor was the church by its nature hostile to democracy.

To understand the genesis of the quarrel, one must recall the religious conditions and the attitude of society towards the church in the period just preceding the Revolution.

At that time a large part of the nation took no share in public worship. The intellectual classes looked upon the practice of the Catholic Church and the ecclesiastical establishment with aversion or contempt. The clerical body was chiefly concerned with the preservation of its material privileges and its accustomed manner of life and the worldly conduct of the higher clergy exposed religion to the shafts of sceptical ridicule. The Huguenots, still an influential

portion of the landed and mercantile classes, were bitterly hostile to Catholicism. The clerical organization was part of the privileged world that the populace had learned to hate.

The financial difficulties of the Revolution were the immediate motive for interference in the affairs of the ecclesiastical establishment.

The feudal property of the church alone yielded in dues an amount equal to more than a quarter of the usual revenue of the state and the tithes brought in nearly as much more.

While penury menaced the life of the Revolution, the church, an unpopular institution, possessed a great amount of tangible wealth, the income from which was very unfairly distributed. The temptation to lay hands on this wealth became very strong after the Assembly, having made tithes redeemable on the night of the famous Fourth of August, abolished them altogether on the 11th of the same month, conferring thereby a donation on the landholders whom they thus relieved and making the support of the clergy a charge on the nation as a whole. The abolition of tithes was going to mean a financial loss to society, which would have to remunerate the lower clergy, unless the wealth of the church concentrated in the hands of the higher clergy and religious orders, then under the ban of opinion, were diverted to this purpose.

A large part of the nation had demanded in the cahiers the nationalization and sale of the church lands. After discussion in the Assembly the opinion prevailed that the wealth of the church was not the property of the clergy or of the various religious establishments, bishoprics, parishes, or monastic institutions, but that it had been merely entrusted to their use and administration and that society could dispose of it in case other provision were

made for the maintenance of the clergy and religious cult. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, declared that if the state undertook the maintenance of the cult and the care of the poor, it ought to take over the wealth which had been appropriated for these purposes. He declared that from this property the state could fully meet the corresponding obligations and would have a large surplus for purposes of general utility.

Consequently, on November 2d, by a vote of 568 against 346, the Assembly placed all the ecclesiastical property at the disposal of the nation with the obligation of making suitable provision for the expenses of the cult, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor. It was decreed that the curés should receive at least 1,200 livres, besides their lodgings and gardens.

With the ecclesiastical endowments, there were eventually merged the property of the Order of Malta, that of the suppressed religious congregations, and the domain of the crown, making an aggregate of national property valued at 3,000,000,000 livres.

It was estimated that the treasury required additional revenue of 400,000,000 livres to meet the needs of the country for that year and the ensuing year, and in December the Assembly decided that ecclesiastical property should be sold for this amount. In vain the clergy offered to loan the government the sum needed, procuring it on the security of their property. The acceptance of their proposal would have been an implied recognition of the right of clerical ownership which had been denied.

To facilitate the disposal of the ecclesiastical property which was to be sold, the municipality of Paris subscribed for a considerable amount and several of the larger towns followed its example. These cities engaged to pay into the national treasury the value of the property that

they received from the state to sell to individuals. But instead of paying in cash, of which they did not possess at the time a sufficient quantity, they delivered notes issued by themselves, which the state could use to satisfy the public creditors until cash had been acquired for their redemption through the sale of the property.

But later a simpler method of creating public credit was devised. National bills were issued, called *assignats*, because they were allotted or assigned for redemption to specific parts of the public domain. The contrivance of the assignats made it possible to dispose of the ecclesiastical property to meet the public obligations. The creditors of the state who received assignats were not obliged to accept public property in settlement. But it was expected that the assignats would eventually pass into the hands of those disposed to realize on them in land.

Every precaution was taken at first to maintain the value of the assignats. The quantity issued was limited to the value of the property placed on sale. They bore interest at three per cent. The Assembly hoped that the metallic currency, which had passed out of circulation, would reappear and circulate concurrently with the assignats. The security made the assignats seemingly quite as safe as the precious metals and the interest made them more advantageous. But later the interest was dropped as inconvenient. This paper money was an indispensable aid to the Revolution as long as it was managed prudently. But the temptation to abuse became irresistible.

The Assembly had monarchical precedents for its interference in the affairs of the church. Louis XVI had suppressed the Jesuits in 1764 and all the states of western Europe had done the same. The pope had abolished this order in 1773. From 1768 to 1780 the royal government in France had disposed of the property of nine

Assignats issued under the law of January, 1792.

congregations which were in a decadent state. In Austria, Joseph II had abolished the religious orders and confiiscated their property and had established civil marriage.

The regular clergy in France was divided between the religious orders and the congregations. The members of the religious orders were bound by perpetual vows. The congregations, such as the Oratorians, Lazarists, and Sulpicians, devoted themselves to charity, science, or education, but did not take perpetual vows. The spirit of the age was unfavorable to the prosperity of the religious orders which were dwindling in numbers; but several of the congregations had increased in strength since the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The Assembly directed its attention to the fate of the religious orders, both those for men and women, whose members took perpetual vows. The ecclesiastical committee, created in August, 1789, was instructed to present a report on the subject. But this committee was unable to agree and the Assembly modified its composition on February 7, 1790, by introducing fifteen new members, all reformers, including the Carthusian, Dom Gerle, and several other ecclesiastics. The radical element in the Assembly demanded the total suppression of the orders, while the higher clergy opposed any fundamental change.

On February 13th the Assembly removed all legal sanction for the enforcement of perpetual vows and provided for the eventual dissolution of the orders by giving the inmates liberty to leave the cloister upon making a declaration before the municipal authority of the locality and granting them the right to a suitable pension, according to age and the class of their order. Men wishing to continue their religious life were to retire to certain establishments that would be especially assigned to them and women were in general permitted to remain in their convents, especially

those devoted to education or charity. The proportion of monks wishing to continue their religious life was larger than had been expected so that the Assembly allowed those remaining in their convents to continue the common life of the cloister, except that where their number was less than twenty they were to be associated with monks of other orders. But by 1791 the large majority of the monks had abandoned the religious houses. At first the decree of the Assembly had very little effect on the nuns. It was not until 1792 that a large number of women left their convents.

The liberal Carthusian, Dom Gerle, proposed on April 13, 1790, that, for the avoidance of any misunderstanding, the Assembly should declare the Catholic religion to be the religion of the state. The Assembly rejected this proposal, although at the same time it expressed "its attachment to the Apostolic and Roman cult . . . . at the moment when this cult alone was to be given first place in the public expenses." On the next day it entrusted the administration of the ecclesiastical property to the departments and districts.

The organization of the Gallican Church was so closely bound up with the state and its organs in France that it was impossible to make any general political settlement without taking the ecclesiastical body into account. On May 30, 1790, the ecclesiastical committee of the Assembly presented its plan for the reform of the organization and discipline of the church and the regulation of its relations with the state, which was known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It was to be the fundamental law for the Church of France in its civil and temporal life.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was mainly the work of sincere reformers who believed that the church

was doomed to gradual extinction; but some of its provisions were evidently inspired by spiritual philosophers, Gallicans, Jansenists, and others, who wished to realize the oldtime aspiration for a national church and to restore the simple discipline of the early age. The advocates of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy maintained that it did not touch the doctrines or worship of the church, but only reformed the discipline, and therefore did not encroach on freedom of conscience or exceed the natural province of the secular authority.

But the adoption of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the attempt to enforce it hopelessly estranged the church and the Revolution and converted the main body of the clergy, who had thus far favored reform, into open enemies of the revolutionary movement, it shocked the conscience of many Frenchmen who regarded the established discipline of the church as an essential part of their religion, and thus it exercised a fateful influence upon the greatest issues of the period.

The Assembly began its work by modifying the ecclesiastical circumscriptions. It reduced the dioceses to eighty-three, the number of the departments, with which they were henceforth to correspond. Of these eighty-three bishoprics, ten were to be metropolitan sees. Cathedral chapters were abolished, and bishops and curés were in future to be elected like public officials, the former by the electoral college of the department, the latter by the electoral assembly of the district. Before consecration they were required to take a solemn oath in the presence of the municipal officers, people, and clergy, "to watch attentively over the faithful of the diocese or parish entrusted to them, to be loyal to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain with all their power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king."

The bishops were to be elected from among the ecclesiastics who had exercised the ministry in the diocese. The curés were to be chosen from among the vicars having had at least five years' experience in the ministry. The metropolitans were to confirm the episcopal elections, but in case confirmation were refused the bishop elect could appeal to the civil authority. The bishop of the diocese was empowered to examine the curé elect on doctrine and character, but in case the canonical institution were refused the curé elect could appeal to the civil authority. Thus the church was closely linked with the national administration, and the clergy, henceforth paid out of the treasury, were to be assimilated to the status of public functionaries.

The Civil Constitution regulated the salaries of the clergy. The Bishop of Paris was to receive 60,000 livres. The annual salary of all other bishops in places of 60,000 inhabitants and upwards was fixed at 20,000, in smaller places, 12,000. Curés in Paris were to receive 5,000, in other places of 50,000 inhabitants or more, 4,000, and in smaller places, 1,200. Vicars were given 700.

This institution of a national church in direct dependence on the state bore some resemblance to the ecclesiastical reorganization carried out under Henry VIII and Elizabeth in England by which the Anglican Church was established. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was adopted by the Assembly on July 12th. The election of the clergy by laymen, and possibly by non-believers, together with the implied denial of papal jurisdiction, was regarded with abhorrence by many conscientious Frenchmen, who believed that it would involve them in the guilt of schism. The king very reluctantly sanctioned the measure on August 27th. He had been charged with negotiations with the Vatican. Had he negotiated wisely, the evil

effects of the ecclesiastical legislation of the Assembly might have been prevented. But he barely requested the pope to make some concession, and then, when Rome seemed endeavoring to gain time, he sanctioned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

No immediate attempt was made to give the law effect. The protests of the bishops did not come out until October. But it was not until the end of the year 1790 that the debate opened upon the proposition to compel the clergy to take the oath. At this time indications of a popular movement against the Revolution had become discernible. These signs of internal defection, combined with the intrigues and machinations of the *émigrés* and vague rumors of a plan of flight of the royal family, created an atmosphere of suspicion and anxiety, in which public opinion was easily exasperated by open non-compliance with the revolutionary measures.

On November 26th the ecclesiastical committee reported in favor of compelling all beneficed ecclesiastics to take the oath that they would uphold to the utmost of their power the constitution decreed by the Assembly and accepted by the king, which implicitly included the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. But the majority of the clergy could not conscientiously bind themselves to observe this act of ecclesiastical legislation.

The proposal was carried after a fierce debate and the king, overborne by the urgent summons of the Assembly and by threats of violence against the clergy, signed the decree on December 26th.

The Assembly decided that the clerical deputies should be the first to take the oath. Gobel, a bishop, took the oath in the Assembly, January 2, 1791, but the majority of the clerical deputies refused. At once the clergy as a whole was thrown into a state of violent agitation. The

bishops exhorted the parish clergy to refuse to take the oath, while the administrative officials of the departments and municipalities urged them to comply with the law. The parish clergy were harassed by doubts. Refusal to take the oath was disobedience to law, but acceptance might involve them in the guilt of schism and deprive them of communion with the visible head of the church on earth. Was it possible to reconcile their duties as Christians and their duties as citizens? Ardent Gallicans, as well as Jansenists, accepted the oath without hesitation, believing that they were restoring the maxims of the primitive church in Gaul. But a large part of the clergy, pressed by the administration, the clubs, and the patriotic journals to obey an ecclesiastical law made by laymen, many of whom they knew to be enemies of the church, sacrificed their interests to their conscience. Scarcely more than half of the clergy took the prescribed oath at the beginning of 1791.

The refractory spirit was especially strong in four parts of the country, the region of the North and the Pas-de-Calais, the region of the West, the departments of the Moselle and Bas-Rhin, and the extensive region of the South.

Altogether seven bishops took the oath, Talleyrand, Loménie de Brienne and his coadjutor, Jarente, Savine, Gobel, and Miroudet Du Bourg. This was enough for consecrating and conferring the canonical institution on the bishops henceforth to be elected. Elections were held at once to replace the non-jurors. But most of the bishops of the Old Régime who had taken the oath refused to consecrate the elected constitutional bishops. However, on February 24th Talleyrand consecrated two bishops without omitting any of the traditional forms, and during the two following months Gobel consecrated thirty-six others.

There were henceforth two churches in France, almost equal in the number of their adherents, teaching the same dogmas, but opposed in sentiments and discipline. Acceptance of the oath came to be regarded as the test of loyalty to revolutionary principles. The recalcitrance of the non-juring clergy revealed to the democracy of the country, and especially the radical element in Paris, incensed as it was by the belief that the Revolution was threatened and insulted, a definite and tangible enemy. Soon those who openly defied the authority of the Assembly were to be persecuted as traitors and rebels. The conflict thus begun between the Revolution and the church hastened the fall of the throne and the outbreak of civil war. It was one of the chief causes for the eclipse and partial failure of the Revolution.

CHAPTER IV

The Court and the Revolution

Influence of the removal of the court to Paris on the characters of the king and queen. Mirabeau's principles, his attitude towards the king, and his ambition. Decree of November 7, 1789, excluding members of the Assembly from the ministry. The arrest and punishment of the Marquis de Favras and the supposed complicity of the Comte de Provence in a counter-revolutionary plot. The latter's address at the Hôtel de Ville. Unexpected appearance of the king in the Assembly, February 4, 1790. Attempts of the reactionaries to embarrass the Assembly. Publication of part of the *Livre Rouge*. Discussion of term of deputies' mandates and decree prolonging their validity until the completion of the work of the Assembly. Mirabeau's bargain with the crown. Dispute between Spain and Great Britain and discussion in France of the constitutional right of declaring war. The federation movement and the great festival of July 14, 1790. Its effect on the army. Revolt of the troops at Nancy. The proposal to prohibit emigration. Death of Mirabeau and its significance.

The removal of the court to Paris tended for the time to stultify and obscure the personality of the king. Condemned to physical inactivity, deprived of his favorite diversion, the chase, he was bored and became listless and indifferent to events and to his environment. His defects of character, indecision, aimlessness, and feebleness of purpose became even more conspicuous. In the days of her prosperity Marie Antoinette had fallen grievously short of the demands of her position. Her frivolity had had very unfortunate results. The court had been full of gossip that reflected upon her reputation. Impelled by prejudice or caprice she had exercised at times a baneful influence on the course of public affairs. She had induced the king to refuse reforms that might have saved the throne. But the days of the October

The king and queen among the citizens working on the Champ-de-Mars in preparation for the Fête of the Federation.
From the painting by C.-A. Coëssin de la Fosse exhibited in the Salon, Paris, 1896.

uprising were a turning point in the development of the queen's character as well as in her life. The terrible experiences, the nearness of death, had exercised their sobering effect upon her nature and brought out the stronger traits. She acquired decision and vigor.

The king was surrounded by irresolute and discordant ministers in whom he had very little confidence. The royal government was incapable of forming a consistent plan of conduct and the impulse of the king was to evade responsibilities and put off all embarrassing issues. Louis XVI was without physical fear but he lacked the moral force to face an issue squarely. Insincerity was destined to be the undoing of the royal family, and the policy of the queen, whose influence over the king constantly increased, was based upon deception. She proposed to beguile the Assembly until circumstances enabled the crown to recover its power.

The queen's prejudices prevented her from accepting without reserve the advice of her most able councillors, chief among whom was eventually Mirabeau. This great orator believed in the main principles that underlay the revolutionary movement. He was an enemy of the old abuses and incongruities that encumbered and restricted the freedom of life and development of the nation, meaningless barriers, privileges which no longer corresponded to real social differences, regulations of trade which were alien to the economic conditions of the age, and the fossils of a seemingly defunct religious creed. But unlike many of his contemporaries he had not accepted the pure doctrine of democracy as an absolute dogma. His judgment inclined to the side of caution and he only conceived of popular government as acting through the established agency of the wealthier classes.

Mirabeau, who symbolized in the eyes of the people the spirit of audacious resistance to royalty, and who was even

suspected of having fomented the uprising of October 5th-6th, aspired to become a minister of the crown and employed all the resources of his talent to attain this goal of his ambition. After having helped to launch the Revolution, he wished to arrest it. Necker, who was unwilling to admit him as a colleague in the ministry, became the object of his scorn and enmity.

Mirabeau expressed his views as to the proper policy for the crown on October 15th in a memorandum which he sent to the Comte de Provence through the hands of a friend, Comte de la Marck, Prince of Arenberg, a Belgian liberal, who possessed extensive rural estates in France and was a deputy in the Assembly. In this memorandum Mirabeau declared that the only means of saving the state and the nascent constitution was by the removal of the king to some locality where he could gain freedom of contact with the nation. He favored Rouen for this purpose because loyalty to the king was generally strong in the western provinces. From there the king would appeal to the nation and compete with the Assembly for popularity. This first communication may never have come to the knowledge of the king. In any case the royal pair were incapable of comprehending the rôle that was urged for them.

Mirabeau tried to form a political partnership with Lafayette, and the latter seemed inclined to combine with him to bring about the overthrow of Necker, but eventually recoiled at the idea of exchanging the command of the National Guard for the second place in a ministry. Then, too, he felt aversion for Mirabeau's disgraceful private life.

Like many of the moderates, Mirabeau was an admirer of the British constitution. His ideal was a strong executive enjoying the confidence of the representative chamber. He proposed that the ministers should have a voice in the debates of the Assembly.

"Never, as long as the English Parliament has existed," he declared in the Assembly, "has a motion been made in it tending to exclude the royal ministers. On the contrary, the nation considers their presence, not only as absolutely necessary, but as one of its greatest privileges. Thus it exercises over all the acts of the executive power a control more important than any other responsibility."

Mirabeau's real wish was to have the ministers chosen from the leaders of the group or party exercising the prevailing influence in the legislative chamber. This might have resulted in the development of parliamentary government. But jealousy of Mirabeau's prominence thwarted the plan. His colleagues preferred to limit the power of the Assembly over the executive rather than let it serve as a stepping-stone for the advancement of Mirabeau to the ministry. On November 7th Le Chapelier, Clermont-Tonnerre, and de Beaumetz, invoking the example of England, declared for the admission of ministers to the Assembly with a consultative voice. But the Assembly decreed that no deputy could hold any ministerial position during the session then in progress. This measure excluded Mirabeau from the Royal Council and helped to ruin the chance of success for a constitutional monarchy. Hence Mirabeau endeavored to secure privately through the court the directing position which it was impossible for him to reach openly through his influence in the Assembly.

In December the court was planning flight to Metz, the headquarters of the Marquis de Bouillé, who was devoted to the cause of the crown. But the plan of evasion was suddenly interrupted by the sensational arrest of the Marquis de Favras, former captain of the Swiss Guards of the Comte de Provence, on the evening of the 24th. It was discovered that Favras had been employed as a confidential agent by the Comte de Provence to raise a loan for a purpose that was

never divulged. Rumor had it that there was a plot to assassinate Bailly, Lafayette, and Necker, and to carry off the king and queen to Metz, whence the king would return in force to Péronne to dissolve the Assembly and convoke a new States General. It was claimed that the Comte de Provence was the instigator or accomplice of this plot, that Favras had gone to two bankers to ask for the loan of a considerable sum of money in his name, and that the first had refused, but the second, although consenting, had as a patriotic duty informed Lafayette. Favras was arrested as he was receiving the first instalment of the loan and a letter of the Comte de Provence was found on his person.

Lafayette assured the Comte de Provence that the letter was known to Bailly and himself alone and that he was in no way compromised. But with Mirabeau's advice the embarrassed prince took an effective step to repair his reputation. Appearing at the Hôtel de Ville, he made a public declaration of sound revolutionary principles and disavowed Favras in an address prepared by Mirabeau. He recalled his liberal rôle in the Assembly of Notables in 1788 and represented himself as an invariable friend of the people. He made a favorable impression. The members of the municipal body were flattered that the brother of the king should come to justify himself before them. In a letter to La Marck, Mirabeau declared that if the Comte de Provence persisted in the same course he would gain a position of ascendency and become in reality prime minister.

Favras was tried for treason at the Châtelet and found guilty. He asked whether upon a full confession his life would be spared and was told that nothing could save him. The judge urged him to die in silence and he was condemned to death. On February 19, 1790, as he was about to be taken to the place of execution, he asked whether the disclosure of his accomplices would change his fate. As he received no

View of the Champ-de-Mars on the day of the Fête of the Federation, July 14, 1790. In the foreground is a triple arc de triomphe; in the center, the altar of the nation; and in the background, a large covered gallery, in the center of which is the pavilion for the king

reply, he said: "In that case, I shall die with my secret." He was hung in the Place de Grève and underwent his fate with fortitude. The documents which would have compromised the prince were restored to him when he had become king, as Louis XVIII, by the daughter of the man who had concealed them. But the evidence has never been revealed to history.

For several weeks Mirabeau seems to have entertained the plan of establishing his own influence in the government by pushing forward the Comte de Provence. The latter was ambitious, but indolent and vacillating, and Mirabeau soon despaired of him. But in the meantime Necker and the other ministers induced the king to take a step to foil Mirabeau's manœuvre. In general the king had either resisted the Revolution or had yielded reluctantly to its demands under compulsion. Every concession had had more or less the appearance of a surrender.

But on February 4th the king, as though impelled spontaneously, appeared unexpectedly in the Assembly and, speaking with firmness, recommended union and concord, invited all Frenchmen to give their hearty adhesion to the constitution and expressed his readiness to defend and uphold it. He besought the Assembly to apply themselves with wisdom and zeal to the strengthening of the executive power as the indispensable condition for public order. He asked their coöperation in arresting the disorders spreading throughout the rural sections against the seigneurs. "May this day," said he in conclusion, "when your monarch comes to join you in the frankest and most intimate manner form a memorable epoch in the history of this empire! Let us harbor from this day on, according to the example that I shall give, only a single opinion, a single interest, and a single wish, attachment to the constitution, and the ardent desire for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the nation."

The deputies greeted the king's words with repeated acclamations and all took the oath to be loyal to the nation, the law, and the king, and to uphold with all their power the constitution decreed by the Assembly and accepted by the king.

One of the few whom this demonstration disgusted, the Colonel Vicomte Mirabeau, brother of the great leader, cried in leaving the hall: "When a king breaks his scepter, his servant may break his sword," and at once put his words into effect.

The accord between the king and the Assembly was superficial. The king underwent the influence of the reactionary element at court, while the conspiracy in which Favras was involved made the public prone to give ear to rumors of other plots. The Revolution was beset with intrigue while pamphlets and journals kept alive suspicion.

The reactionary element were ever alert for any opportunity to embarrass their antagonists. In March, 1790, the Assembly conferred on the king the right of naming commissioners to convoke the primary assemblies and electoral colleges for the election of the administrative officials of the districts and departments. But the king, under the influence of reactionary advisers, chose aristocratic commissioners who would have provided for the election, not only of local administrative officials, but of new deputies to replace those actually sitting in the Assembly. But the Assembly was warned of this intention and forestalled it on March 29th by a decree limiting the powers of the commissioners and making them expire the day of the termination of the election of the administrative officials. Many towns and departments, learning of the intended reactionary manœuvre, refused to recognize the commissioners chosen by the king.

The Assembly replied to this counter-revolutionary stratagem by a very effective measure, the publication of a part of

the *Livre Rouge*, or Red Book, the list of royal pensions and the recipients of the royal bounty. This was a sensational revelation. It showed how in the generation preceding the Revolution, when the state was threatened with bankruptcy, vast sums, judged by the standards of the times, were lavished upon the royal relatives and the favorites of the king and queen. The patriotic journals were violent in their denunciation of the practices revealed by the *Livre Rouge* and demanded its complete publication and distribution throughout the country. It was hailed as "The Catechism of the Friends of the Revolution."

The aristocratic element attempted again to bring about a dissolution of the Assembly by artifice. A number of the bailliages, the electoral districts of 1789, had given their deputies to the States General a mandate limited to a year. On April 19th the Right demanded that new elections be held in these bailliages, appealing to the principle of the sovereignty of the people, which required that the deputies should comply with the letter of their mandate from the electors.

"Without doubt," declared Le Chapelier in response to this demand in the Assembly, "all sovereignty resides in the people, but this principle is not applicable in the present case. The renewal of the Assembly before the completion of the constitution would mean the destruction of the constitution and of liberty. That is indeed the hope of those who would gladly see the extinction of the constitution and of liberty and the return of the distinction of the orders, the dissipation of the public revenue, and the abuses which follow in the train of despotism."

At these remarks, all eyes were turned toward the deputies of the Right and rested on the Abbé Maury.

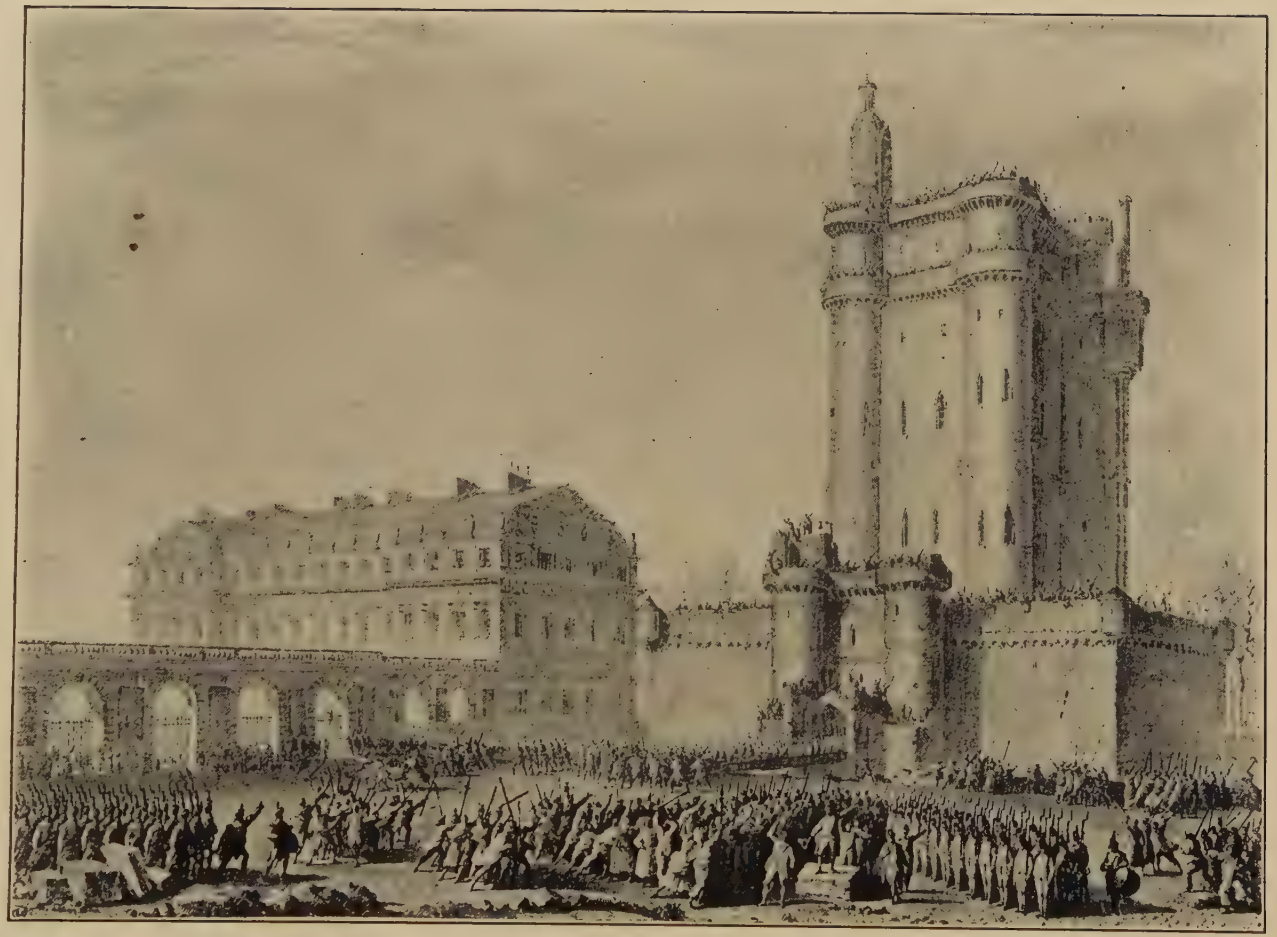
"Send such people to the Châtelet," interrupted Maury fiercely, "or else, if you do not know who they are, leave them in peace."

"The constitution," continued Le Chapelier, "must necessarily be completed by the same Assembly. Besides, the same electorate no longer exists; the bailliages have lost their identity in the departments; the orders are no longer distinct. The provision for the limitation of the duration of powers of the deputies has no longer, therefore, any force. It would be contrary to the principles of the constitution that the deputies whose mandates are involved should not remain in this Assembly. Their oath commands them to remain and the public interest requires it."

"We are assailed with subterfuges," retorted the Abbé Maury, "since when have we been a national convention? They speak of the oath that we took June 20th, without reflecting that it could not invalidate the one that we had taken to our constituents. Furthermore, gentlemen, the constitution is completed. It only remains for you to declare that the king holds the plenitude of executive power. We are only here to guarantee the French people the right to an influence in legislation, to establish the rule that taxation shall receive the consent of the people, to insure our liberty. Yes, the constitution is made and I am opposed to any decree limiting the authority of the people over their representatives. The founders of liberty ought to respect the liberty of the nation. It is over us and we destroy our own authority in restricting the authority of the nation."

The Right applauded the words of their leader, when Mirabeau sprang to the tribune and intervened in the debate with characteristic vehemence.

"They ask," he said, "when the people's deputies became a national convention. I reply, the day when, finding the entrance of their assembly hall beset with soldiers, they transferred their session to the first place where they could assemble and took the oath to perish rather than to betray or abandon the rights of the nation. The nature of our



The populace attacking the fort at Vincennes which, it was rumored, was being remodelled with the intention of making it a second Bastille, February 28, 1791. From an engraving after the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

powers, whatever they were, underwent transformation that day. Whatever the powers are which we have exercised, they have been made legitimate through our efforts and labors. The adhesion of the nation has sanctioned them. You all recall the saying of that great man of antiquity who had ignored legal forms in order to save his country. When summoned by a partisan tribune to declare whether he had observed the laws, he replied: 'I swear that I have saved the state.' Gentlemen (turning towards the commons), I swear that you have saved France."

The Assembly rose and declared that its session would not terminate until it had accomplished the work before it.

Mirabeau, as we have seen, wished the king to assume an active rôle as guide and moderator of the Revolution. Negotiations with Mirabeau were entered into by Mercy Argenteau, the Austrian Ambassador, through La Marck in the interest of the court. In the month of April Mirabeau and Mercy-Argenteau had an interview at the residence of La Marck. The king distrusted Mirabeau, but he disliked Necker, his chief minister. The queen's aversion for Mirabeau was very strong, but she detested Necker. La Marck reassured the queen in regard to Mirabeau's intentions. On May 10th Mirabeau gave La Marck a memorandum of the services which he was prepared to render the court. Finally, he placed his enormous talent at the service of the king in return for the payment of his debts, which amounted to 208,000 livres, a monthly stipend of 6,000, and the promise of 1,000,000 at the close of the Assembly, provided he remained faithful.

This bargain has tended to discredit the sincerity of Mirabeau's revolutionary principles. Circumstances and his own dissolute habits made him assume a mercenary attitude. In reality he did not swerve from his fundamental convictions of 1789. He accepted the money of the court for pursuing the

policy which he judged to be the best. His purpose was the consolidation of the representative monarchy on the ruins of absolutism. Never would he have lent his support to any counter-revolutionary plot or policy. He believed in a strong executive power vested in the king and exercised through responsible ministers. His enemies in the Assembly soon suspected that he had sold himself. The queen never believed in his sincerity. The court never acted unreservedly on Mirabeau's advice. But he rose to great ascendency and was the supreme figure of the time in the autumn and winter of 1790–91.

Mirabeau composed a large number of memoranda for the court, discussing the events of the day and exposing vast schemes of policy, revealing the prodigious capacity of his genius. To be useful to the court, he had to keep his position as a popular leader at the head of the assault on privileges and the Old Régime. There was a great change in his private life. He exchanged his modest apartment in a *hotel garni* for princely quarters in the Chaussée-d'Antin, where he kept open house. Nevertheless he worked with superhuman energy, scarcely devoting a few hours to repose.

Soon after Mirabeau's bargain with the king events raised an issue which nearly unbalanced the precarious equilibrium of his double rôle as popular leader and confidential agent of the crown. In the spring of 1790 a dispute arose between Great Britain and Spain over the region adjoining Nootka Sound on the Pacific coast of North America and became so serious that war seemed probable and a naval armament was gotten ready in England. Spain sought the help of France in accordance with the terms of alliance known as the Family Compact, and her claim was acknowledged by Louis XVI and his ministers. Montmorin, the Minister of War, informed the President of the Assembly that, as the preparations of Great Britain menaced France, the king had ordered

fourteen sail of the line to be gotten ready for the sea. It was expected that the old enmity between the two countries would impel the Assembly to support the king and that an outbreak of patriotic ardor would impart new vigor to the government.

But the result was quite the opposite. For the majority of the Assembly were far more concerned with vindicating their own prerogatives than with satisfying the foreign commitments of the royal government. The Assembly therefore took occasion to discuss the principles which should henceforth control the foreign policy of France.

It was argued that if treaties are acts of sovereign power and the people cannot alienate its inherent right of sovereignty, international engagements could not be valid unless made with the express consent of the people. But since none of the existing treaties had been made with the express consent of the French people none of them could be binding on the French nation. France was therefore free to follow her own course in foreign affairs. It was naîvely maintained that when all nations were masters of their destinies, all wars would cease, because wars are only caused by the ambition of kings and no nation would take up arms except for a just cause. Diplomacy would then be useless and general alliances would exist only in history. It was urged that the National Assembly should itself undertake the negotiation of treaties and exercise the power of peace and war.

But the right to declare war was essential for the revival of the royal authority. The aristocrats claimed that it was the exclusive prerogative of the king, while the Left led by Barnave refused to grant him any share in it. On May 20th Mirabeau proposed a bill which began by recognizing the right of the nation to decide on peace or war and then attributed this right to the executive and legislative powers concurrently. The king was to undertake the negotiations, prepare

armaments, direct the military operations, and sign treaties of peace and alliance, while the Assembly would have the right to refuse credits and arrest hostilities after they had begun. Mirabeau's proposal did not make clear who should declare war. But he asserted in a speech that popular assemblies are as subject to passion as kings while not being subject to responsibility like ministers. He showed the madness of disarming in the face of the nations of Europe in arms. Treaties, he held, should be signed by the king and approved by the legislative power.

Barnave pointed out that the limitation on the king's right to make war provided in Mirabeau's bill was really delusive. The Assembly would have the right to refuse funds after war had been declared. But instead of arresting the war, this would merely stop the defense and place the country at the mercy of the enemy. On the other hand, the legislative body being numerous, and therefore having in the aggregate a large number of personal interests at stake, would be much less likely to declare war than the king or his ministry. It would only declare war in the most necessary cases.

The people greeted Barnave with applause on his departure from the Manége, but followed Mirabeau with abuse and the cry: "To the lamp-post." On the next day, as Mirabeau was mounting the tribune, a deputy called out: "Listen, Mirabeau, yesterday to the Capitol, to-day to the Tarpeian Rock!" The great orator admitted that, while but a few days before the masses had wished to carry him in triumph, they now cried in the streets: "The great act of treason of Comte Mirabeau." He declared that he did not need this lesson to learn that it is but a very short distance from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock; yet that the man who struggles for reason, for his native country, is not so easily overcome. He proceeded to show the need of a king with some power. Barnave had declaimed against the evils

that might be perpetrated by kings, but had failed to observe that with the new constitution the king no longer had power to be a despot or to act in an arbitrary manner. "Do you pretend that because certain dangers are inherent in the kingship we ought to renounce the advantages of royalty? . . . Say that we should have no king at all rather than that we should have a powerless, useless one."

Mirabeau accepted an amendment to the effect that war could only be declared by decree of the legislative power on proposal of the king. Le Chapelier and Lafayette supported the proposal of Mirabeau, while amending it considerably, and secured its adoption as a decree of the Assembly. The Assembly added to its decree a declaration that the French people renounced all wars of conquest and would never employ its forces against the liberty of any other nation.

The King of Spain renewed his appeal for the support of France. Mirabeau prevailed upon the diplomatic committee to turn the Family Compact into a national compact, omitting certain offensive clauses. On August 26th the Assembly invited Louis XVI to equip forty-five sail of the line and to offer the King of Spain the revised treaty as the basis of a new alliance. But the Spanish court, despairing evidently of help from such an uncertain source, preferred to make terms with its opponent, and by the Treaty of the Escorial, signed October 12, 1790, Spain yielded all the disputed points. This incident made the French crown appear as impotent in foreign as it was in domestic affairs.

It was significant that, in the chaotic state following the collapse of the royal administrative machinery in France, the impulse to a more vital spiritual union of the French nation proceeded from the municipalities whose traditions went back to the old *civitates* or urban communities of Roman times which were the continuation of the local states

of ancient Gaul. There were now 44,000 municipalities, but the smaller units followed the guidance of the larger urban centers in their vicinity, virtually coalescing into a limited number of local groups.

The municipalities were generally active organs of the Revolution. Their administration was generally in the hands of patriotic members of the bourgeoisie, advocates, physicians, merchants, manufacturers, former magistrates, or officers. The municipal corporations enjoyed unprecedented independence. Their control over the local National Guard and their right of requisitioning the regular army made them a formidable power against the forces of reaction on one side and those of anarchy on the other.

Just as neighboring municipalities corresponded and agreed upon common action and common policies, the forces of the National Guard, comprising the active citizens of the different communities able to bear arms, formed unions or federations in the various districts. Soon these federations embraced whole provinces. The first inter-provincial federations appeared in the south and west. They received religious consecration. The National Guard of Dauphiné and Vivarais to the number of 12,000 assembled on November 29, 1789, on a plain near Valence where a great altar had been erected. Before this altar the delegates of the National Guard of the different localities took an oath either to live free or to die. A patriotic address was adopted and sent to the Assembly. This brilliant manifestation made a great impression throughout France.

The Breton-Angevin federation was formed in January and February, 1790. The movement was taken up with great enthusiasm in the eastern regions of France. On February 21st delegates of the militia of Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Champagne, representing 150,000 of the National Guard, fraternized at Dôle, affirming in a solemn oath their

love for the common father of the French, their fidelity to the rights of man, and their promise to regard themselves as a great family of brothers.

On June 13th 2,281 delegates of the National Guard of Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté assembled at Strassburg and took the civic oath in the presence of "the God of the Universe." Newly-born infants received "civic baptism" at the altar of the nation. The spire of the cathedral was illuminated in the evening and on the next day the tricolor was planted at the Alsacian end of the Kehl Rhine bridge with the inscription: "Here begins the land of liberty."

The colonel-general of the National Guard of Lyons took the initiative in a brilliant patriotic festival there. He was a freemason, who strove to disseminate the spirit of patriotic zeal among the laboring classes to combat the demoralizing effect of idleness and the dearness of provisions. About 50,000 delegates, representing more than 500,000 National Guardsmen generally throughout France, but especially in the eastern regions, assembled May 30th on the plain on the east bank of the Rhône at Lyons. For three hours the procession filed past a statue of liberty that had been erected on this site. The vast concourse of people was thrilled with happiness.

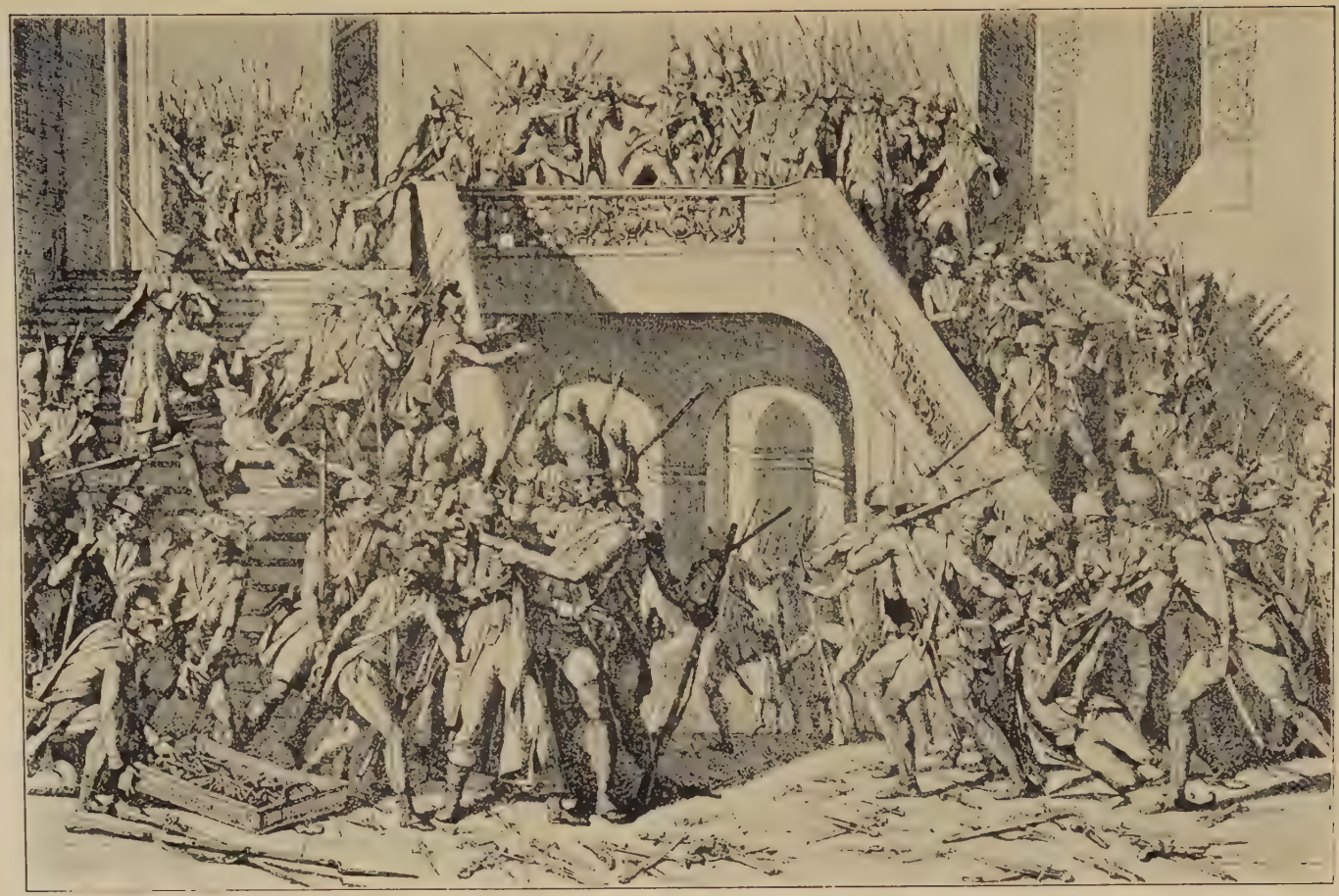
Carrying out the suggestion of the municipality of Paris, the Constituent Assembly decreed on June 5th that a federation of the whole of France should be consummated at the capital on the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille. Deputations from the National Guard throughout the country were invited to assemble with representatives of the army and of the fleet in the Champ-de-Mars at Paris to swear fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king.

In each commune the National Guard chose six men from every hundred of their number. These, assembling by

districts, chose the delegates to the National Federation in the proportion of one for every 200. Preparations on a vast scale had to be made at Paris. The irregular surface of the Champ-de-Mars had to be levelled and an earthern amphitheater erected for the spectators. The measures taken by the municipality were tardy and inadequate, so that on Sunday, July 4th, a great crowd of people of all ages, ranks, and conditions set to work with spontaneous zeal. On the next day the battalions of the National Guard marched to the Champ-de-Mars armed with spades and shovels. At the close of the day the workers marched through the principal thoroughfares of Paris to the music of fife and drum and were greeted with the joyous acclamations of the people. The tide of confidence and enthusiasm ran high.

The delegations of the National Guard numbered 14,000 and those of the army and fleet 11,000. On the 14th the procession formed on the boulevards and began to move at seven in the morning. The electors of Paris, the municipal corporation, and the administrators of the department formed the head of the procession. Next the Constituent Assembly accompanied by the colors of the sixty battalions of the National Guard of Paris marched in a body, preceded by a battalion of children, and followed by one of old men. After these came the deputations of the army and navy, enclosed by the provincial delegations. Passing through the Rues Saint-Denis, Saint-Honoré, and Royale, and the Cours La Reine, and, crossing the Seine by a bridge of boats, the procession entered the Champ-de-Mars about 3.30 P.M.

An assemblage of 300,000 spectators adorned with the tricolor occupied the earthern steps around the open space. The altar of the nation had been erected on a platform six meters high in the center of the area. There Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, celebrated a solemn mass, assisted by two



The day of the gentlemen of the poignards. On February 28, 1791, after the attack on Vincennes by the mob a number of aristocrats armed with concealed daggers and pistols professing to protect the king proceeded to the Tuileries. The king, however, ordered them to be disarmed by the National Guard and expelled from the palace. From a wood engraving of the epoch, in the French government collections

hundred priests wearing tricolor scarves and with a choir of 400 children in white. Lafayette, as commander of the National Guard of Paris the hero of the hour, was first to take the oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king. With wild enthusiasm the delegates rushed forward, crying, "Long live Lafayette," and many embraced him. They took the oath together with the Assembly. The king stepping forward on a platform in front of the royal gallery took the oath of loyalty to the constitution and the queen lifted her son before the multitude as though accepting the pledge in his name. Again the reconciliation of the monarchy with liberty seemed to have been affected. The festival was the sacred symbol of concord, the goal of national aspiration. A delicious intoxication of joy pervaded the vast assembly. A vision of national felicity appeared to the souls of men who believed that the mere breaking of the fetters of religious and secular tyranny and adoption of the principle that government derives its sanction from the consent of all would enable the natural virtues of mankind to assert themselves and secure the peace and happiness of nations.

This was the last public celebration of the mass by Talleyrand. He resigned his see of Autun January 21st of the following year.

The federations nourished throughout France the spirit of devotion to the common ideals of liberty and equality. They created a feeling of confidence in the future. They tended in part to repress lawless outbreaks and to discourage counter-revolutionary plots. They helped to spread a crusading zeal for the propagation of revolutionary ideals and principles and eagerness to regenerate other peoples by overthrowing despotism wherever it existed. They united and intensified the dynamic force that was to transform Europe.

But the delegations of the regiments returning to their posts and barracks after the festival of July 14th in Paris

scattered seeds of insubordination among the forces of the regular army. The troops claimed the right to deliberate on their orders and to exercise control over discipline, and finally to elect their superiors. Mention was made in the first volume of the similarity of many of the phases through which the French and Russian Revolutions passed. In both countries the representative assemblies refused to dissolve at the command of the monarchical government, but assumed sovereign and constituent powers. In both the popular uprisings were provoked by the scarcity of food and general misery. In Petrograd as in Paris some of the troops fraternized with the people and joined in the revolutionary movements. The spreading of the revolutionary spirit in the armies was a vital factor in both cases. It deprived the reactionary element of its only effective weapon.

At an early stage of the Russian Revolution deputations of soldiers were summoned to confer on matters of state. Committees were formed in the different units of the army. The order of June 27, 1917, abolishing the death penalty and establishing the election of officers was followed by the complete disorganization of the Russian army.

In France after the return of the delegations from the celebration of July 14, 1790, the troops, already united in various federations, feeling that they had the support of the National Guard and of public opinion, chose committees in the regiments to settle questions of discipline. Later the troops elected their non-commissioned officers and their company officers, who in turn chose the battalion officers. The old royal army, deprived of a large number of its experienced officers through the emigration of the nobles, lapsed into a state of partial disorganization. At a later stage, both in France and Russia, the requirements of defense against invasion drove the revolutionary governments to drastic efforts for the restoration of the national military power.

The revolutionary movement in both cases produced rival organs of authority. Beside the Duma and its executive council in Russia, delegates of the workmen and soldiers met to form a rival organization, the Soviet, which finally usurped the power, while in France the political clubs eventually dictated the policy of the representative assembly.

The political clubs and revolutionary journals in France were largely controlled by leaders of intense and ardent views. Membership in the Jacobin Club, the most influential in Paris, included men of all classes, many of whom belonged to the masonic lodges, which had spread throughout France during the eighteenth century. The discussions and decrees of the Assembly were prepared in the deliberations in the old convent of the Jacobins of the Rue Saint-Honoré. By August, 1790, 152 clubs throughout France were affiliated with the Jacobins of Paris.

Forty-eight sections had replaced the sixty regions as the local divisions of Paris and the assemblies of these sections were veritable political clubs and centers of intense and constant agitation, especially that of the section of the Cordeliers at the convent of the Cordeliers opposite the School of Medicine. Among the leading spirits of this section were Danton, Marat, Desmoulins, Fréron, and Fabre d'Églantine.

Georges Jacques Danton, born at Arcis-sur-Aube, October 26, 1759, son of the procureur of the billiage of his native town, became one of the greatest figures of the Revolution, about whose character the most widely divergent views are held. He received a good education for the time and gave evidence from an early age of the boldness and independence which were so marked in all his later conduct. When his rhetoric teacher assigned as theme of composition the approaching consecration of Louis XVI in 1775, the enterprising and inquisitive lad conceived the idea of attending the ceremony the more accurately to be able to describe it.

With what small funds he had and some contributions from his comrades, he escaped from the school at Troyes, where he was a boarding pupil, and made his way to Reims where his nimbleness and dexterity secured him admission everywhere.

On one occasion in his boyhood, engaging in combat with a bull, he received a broken nose. His face was further disfigured by a severe attack of small-pox. But in spite of his ugliness of appearance, noted by all his contemporaries, he possessed a certain charm of personality that endeared him to his associates. He was devoted to his mother, his two wives, and his friends.

He went to Paris to study law, becoming a clerk in an advocate's office. At that time a young man, light-hearted, fond of pleasure and sports, beloved by his comrades, he formed an attachment for Gabrielle Charpentier, daughter of the proprietor of a café frequented by advocates, and married her in 1785. With his wife's dowry and his own savings he purchased a position as advocate in the courts and soon rose to great notoriety. There is reason to believe that he attained to considerable prosperity, notwithstanding the malicious and oft-quoted allusion in the memoirs of Madame Roland, who detested him: "Danton, the miserable advocate, with more debts than cases, whose wife used to say that without the help of the louis a week given her by her father she could not keep her household." On two occasions the Barentin ministry offered him the secretaryship of the seal, which he both times refused, believing that it was impossible under the Old Régime to put through the reforms in the judicial institutions which he advocated. He hailed the advent of the Revolution like the other intellectuals of the time imbued with philosophical ideas.

Danton was elected one of the administrators of the department of Paris in February, 1791. He was commander

The revolt of the troops at Nancy. From an original in sepia by Le Barbier in the Musée Carnavalet which shows a young officer who lost his life "in an effort to prevent Frenchmen from killing Frenchmen."

of the battalion of the Cordeliers in the National Guard of Paris. In consequence of his reputation for advanced views he fled after the affair of July 17, 1791, but returned at the beginning of September and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Legislative Assembly. He was assiduous in his attendance at the meetings of both the Jacobins and Cordeliers.

Without separating from the Jacobin Club, a number of its more conservative members, among them Sieyès, Mirabeau, Lafayette, Bailly, Talleyrand, Le Chapelier, La Rochefoucauld, and Condorcet, formed the Society of 1789 in April, 1790. Their professed purpose was to perfect the social art of maintaining and extending the happiness of nations and to constitute an experimental political science by coöperation with the efforts of similar societies in other countries. Their fundamental principles, as their name implied, were those of 1789. They formed a sort of academy sitting in luxurious quarters in the Palais-Royal and publishing a journal.

Distinctive political groups or factions frequented for discussions different salons, restaurants, or cafés, such as the Café de Foy or the Café de Chartres in the Palais-Royal, or the Venus in the Rue Saint-Honoré, where deputies of the Assembly often came to prepare their speeches.

The army was distracted by the repeated dissensions between the officers, who were mainly aristocrats, and the troops, who were mostly revolutionary in sympathy. The Assembly had retained the foreign regiments, chiefly Swiss and German, which became a source of anxiety when the possibility of foreign war had to be considered. It was proposed in the Assembly that the National Guard should be more fully armed. The deputy Dubois-Crance urged the adoption of universal obligatory service. "Every citizen should be a soldier, and every soldier a citizen," he declared,

"otherwise France is verging on annihilation." In any case he regarded an army of at least 150,000 and a provincial militia of the same number, besides the National Guard, as indispensable for safety.

In Nancy, which had at that time a population of about 30,000, there were 2,092 active citizens. The municipal corporation was conservative and its attitude towards the Assembly created the suspicion of disloyalty. Therefore it incurred the determined opposition of the local Jacobin Club, and the Jacobins predominated in the National Guard, numbering 1,400, which elected a Jacobin, Colonel Poincaré, as its commander. In defiance of the municipal administration, the National Guard celebrated a festival of federation on April 19–21, 1790, inviting the three regiments of the garrison to participate. This intensified the feeling of animosity between the soldiers and the officers. The latter, irritated at the opening of their career to citizens of all classes, provoked the indignation of the troops by the severity of their discipline and their abuse of the Assembly.

The garrison of Nancy was stirred to open revolt in August, but the Assembly, unwilling to countenance sedition, voted that the soldiers who had instigated the uprising should be punished with death and that the others should be pardoned in case they were repentant. Should it be necessary to execute this decree by force, troops from other garrisons were to be concentrated under command of a general who would have power of disbanding the recalcitrant regiments at Nancy or discharging the troops. Eight soldiers sent as a deputation to the Assembly by one of the regiments were placed under arrest.

The Marquis de Malseigne, governor of Besançon, was sent to Nancy with special instructions to verify the regimental accounts, as the troops accused the officers of peculation. The regiments made a public act of repentance for

their insubordination, but the troops soon broke out in fresh revolt and the National Guard of the department which had been called out made common cause with them. They imprisoned Malseigne. The Marquis de Bouillé set out from Toul on August 30th with about 5,000 men to suppress the uprising. On the next day he published his terms, demanding the immediate release of Malseigne and other officers, the departure of the regiments from Nancy, and the designation by the troops of each regiment of a certain number of their guilty comrades who were to be hung.

The revolted regiments refused to accept these terms and on the same day Bouillé forced an entrance into the city after a sharp conflict in which 300 were killed or wounded. On the following night the two French regiments were sent away from Nancy and 41 of the Swiss were condemned to the galleys for thirty years, while 71 were turned over to the regimental authorities for punishment. Bouillé dissolved the Jacobin Club in Nancy and there was a sort of military reign of terror in the city.

The Assembly congratulated Bouillé on his successful suppression of the uprising and the Jacobin Club of Paris sent a circular letter to the affiliated societies recommending obedience and discipline on the part of the troops and a spirit of kindliness on the part of the officers towards their men. The National Guard of Paris held a festival in honor of members of the National Guard of Nancy who did not make common cause with the revolting troops.

But a revulsion of feeling followed. The Jacobin Club at Nancy was soon reopened. In December the Assembly withdrew its vote of felicitation for Bouillé. It was urged that the Swiss should be granted amnesty, although they were not actually released until April 15, 1792, when the Jacobins adopted the red bonnet which they had worn on the galleys, recalling that it was the Phrygian cap which in antiquity

had been the emblem of emancipation from slavery. The result of the change in feeling confirmed the suspicions of dishonesty entertained by the troops against their officers and destroyed still further the feeling of respect and confidence.

The authority and prestige of the king were constantly waning. He could no longer depend on the army. In September, 1790, he was constrained to accept the resignation of Necker, who had failed in his attempts to float loans and was harassed by Mirabeau and others. This minister, who had returned to power in triumph as a popular hero only a little more than a year before, now left France in ignomy. In the following November the vigorous demands of the sections of Paris voiced by Danton brought about the dismissal of the Minister of War, La Tour du Pin. One by one, all of the ministers for whom the king had felt a confidential attachment dropped out, except Montmorin, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The men who succeeded them were far less acceptable to Louis XVI. The latter meanwhile sanctioned all the decrees that the Assembly presented and took all the oaths that were demanded of him, without thereby resigning the secret spirit of opposition and revolt or the expectation of a favorable opportunity to repudiate all the obnoxious proceedings. The royal administration procrastinated in the promulgation of the repugnant decrees of the Assembly or failed altogether to put them into execution. There were repeated disturbances in Paris and continual agitation, intrigue, and sensational rumors kept the popular imagination in a state of ferment.

One day a rumor spread throughout Paris that the Comte de Provence was about to depart. His residence, the Luxembourg Palace, was immediately besieged by a mob which compelled him to appear and drive through the city with his carriage full of market-women, "dames de la Halle,"

The last moments of Mirabeau. From the painting by E. A. Guillon.

half smothering him with their embraces. Great excitement was created by the report that the king's two aunts, Mesdames, daughters of Louis XVI, were going to leave for Rome, "leaving behind them," according to Marat in *L'Ami du Peuple,* "three millions of debts, and taking with them twelve millions in gold, and most likely the dauphin as well."

On the subject of the departure of the king's aunts, Mirabeau wrote a note to the court, the fiftieth in the series of these papers, in which he pointed out that some would regard it as presaging the flight of the king himself. He predicted that Paris would not endure it tamely and he advised that, since the king had not won popularity by forbidding their departure, he should inform the Assembly that he had abstained from this from fear of exceeding his powers and should ask for a decree defining his authority over his relations. This would allay suspicion and embarrass the Assembly. But Mirabeau's advice was not taken.

A crowd of women went to Bellevue, the residence of the king's aunts, and found that they had already set out on the road to Fontainebleau. They were stopped by the National Guard at Saulieu, but allowed to proceed by order of the municipality. Again they were stopped by the National Guard and a resolute crowd at Arnay-le-Duc.

Their departure was discussed in the Assembly on February 27th. Some one asked whether there was a law against it. "Yes," replied a deputy, "the welfare of the people." But Mirabeau arose and declared with haughty scorn that the welfare of the people was not in the least concerned with the stopping of Mesdames two or three times on their travels; that their departure was imprudent and impolitic, but not illegal; and sarcastically remarked how amazed Europe would be to learn that the Assembly had spent several days haggling over whether two old

women should hear mass in Paris or in Rome; and that such affairs should be taken in hand, not by the Assembly at all, but by the executive. His view prevailed and Arnay-le-Duc permitted the fugitives to go on, "to say their prayers in Rome." But the patriots demanded a law prohibiting emigration.

The situation involved great difficulties. Restriction of emigration was an interference with the rights of the individual and a violation of the principles of liberty consecrated in the Declaration of Rights. But liberty of emigration exposed the security of France which the aristocrats were only leaving with the hope of reëntering it as armed invaders. The committee on the constitution submitted a bill for the creation of a commission of three deputies to be chosen by the Assembly with final authority to deal with all applications for permission to go abroad. Departure in violation of this provision would involve the loss of all civil rights and the confiscation of the property of the fugitive.

The proposal encountered the violent opposition of Mirabeau, who had long regarded the king's escape from Paris, although not his departure from the country, as essential for the realization of sound policy.

"The murmur heard at the reading of this proposal," he cried, "is proof that this law deserves a place in the code of Draco and not among the decrees of the National Assembly of France. I declare that I would regard myself as absolved of every oath of fidelity to those who should be guilty of the infamy of nominating a dictatorial commission. The popularity which is the object of my ambition and which I have had the honor to enjoy is not a feeble twig. I propose to have it deeply rooted in the earth on the bases of justice and liberty."

His words were greeted with an indignant outcry from the Left, but in consequence of his opposition consideration of the law against emigration was postponed.

On the same day, February 28th, popular suspicion aroused by the departure of the king's aunts, and not unfounded, as subsequent events showed, led to an outbreak of the populace, which the counter-revolutionary faction tried to turn to account as an opportunity for the king's escape. The rumor spread among the multitude that the restoration of the stronghold of Vincennes, undertaken by the municipality of Paris, was intended for making of it another Bastille. It was even believed that this fortress was connected by a subterranean passage with the Louvre and would thus facilitate the king's flight. The populace of Vincennes and of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine gathered in arms to capture and destroy the fortress and were supported generally by the forty-eight sections of Paris which were intensely democratic and therefore opposed to the municipal administration of the Hôtel de Ville. Lafayette hastened to the scene of the outbreak at the head of the National Guard to repress it.

In the absence of Lafayette more than six hundred armed aristocrats filled the corridors and halls of the Tuileries, professedly to protect the king, but really to encourage him to seize the opportunity for flight. Lefayette, after putting down the uprising at Vincennes, hurried back to the Tuileries, ordered the nobles to lay aside their arms and insisted that the king repeat the order. In silence the aristocrats deposited their swords on the furniture of the royal antechamber and left the palace between two rows of National Guardsmen, who did not fail to vent their hostility from time to time in vigorous kicks to expedite the exit. The occasion came to be known by the derisive epithet of the Day of the Gentlemen of the Poignard. Paris was placarded the next day with an announcement by Lafayette treating with the utmost disdain many of the first gentlemen of the court who were obliged to resign the royal service. The

determination and vigor exhibited by Lafayette on this occasion were particularly marked. By thwarting the counter-revolutionary plot he saved his popularity which would have been compromised by the suppression of the outbreak at Vincennes.

In the precarious course of his policy of working secretly for the consolidation of the monarchy while endeavoring to maintain a position of popular leadership, Mirabeau was rapidly approaching a critical stage. He could only aid the court through his popularity and yet in serving the court he inevitably risked or undermined his popularity. A comprehensive plan, apparently devised by him, had been presented to the king on February 23, 1791. It outlined a vast scheme of propaganda to favor the interests of the crown. The sum of 2,400,000 livres was to be spent yearly for buying the support of writers, journalists, authors of popular songs, deputies, administrators of the Hôtel de Ville, members of popular societies, orators of the sections, the claque in theaters, and others who could wield an important influence. A special department employing 1,500 persons was to be established for this form of propaganda and its administration.

Mirabeau had changed his view in regard to the proposed flight of the king and now advised Metz as the goal and coöperation with Bouillé. But he was losing prestige with the patriots and Jacobins. His influence was seriously compromised by his opposition to the bill restricting emigration. It is true that he appeared in the Jacobin Club in the evening after the discussion of the proposed bill against emigration and by his audacity and marvelous force of eloquence won applause and a temporary triumph.

But his constitution was giving way under the prolonged strain of dissipation and excessive labors. Confined to his bed by illness at intervals throughout March, his condition gradually became worse, and he died on April 2, 1791, at the

age of forty-two. His unusual talent had qualified him for a commanding position to which he aspired. But the jealousy or apprehension of the Assembly excluded him from the ministry and left him with only the possibility of directing the policy of the royal administration as secret councillor of the king. While strongly attached to liberty, he felt the necessity of order and was therefore led to become the defender of the royal authority. But he was no less opposed to absolutism than to the omnipotence of the legislative body. While remaining throughout consistent in his essential ideals and principles, his versatile conduct and the manœuvres required by his double rôle exposed him to the suspicion of both sides.

Nevertheless, all France mourned him, and the Assembly, wishing to give him a fitting tomb, which he merited so much, and at the same time give to France a Westminster, decreed that the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, later called the Pantheon, be dedicated by a "grateful country" to its great men. The greatest orators of the time pronounced his eulogy, and the representatives of the nation and a vast throng followed his remains to their resting place. The death of Mirabeau was a fateful event in the course of the Revolution. With the whole-hearted support of the king and court, Mirabeau might possibly have achieved the arduous task of conciliating the monarchy and liberty. But he never received sincere support and his death left the king and court a prey to their own ignorance and folly in a critical period and sealed the fate of the constitutional monarchy.

CHAPTER V

Europe and the Revolution

Effect of the Revolution on public opinion throughout Europe. International politics of the European powers in the preceding period. The uprising in Brabant. Distractions of the European rulers. The conflict over the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace. The disturbed situation in the papal territories of the Rhône valley. The plebiscite in Avignon and the country of Venaissin and the annexation of these districts to France on September 12, 1791. The aggravation of the church conflict in France. The failure of the policy of tolerance. The plan of Louis XVI to spend Easter, 1791, at Saint-Cloud. His departure prevented. Growth of the revolutionary spirit in France. Activity and attitude of the Jacobins. Development of the popular societies. Republicans and socialists. Alarm of the Assembly.

"The Revolution," declared Mirabeau, "is a volcano of which neither the subterranean agitations nor the impending irruptions can for a moment be ignored." The great convulsion in France was bound to excite the imagination of the peoples of Europe and to rivet the serious attention of their rulers.

The effect of the Revolution on public opinion throughout Europe differed according to the genius and conditions of the different peoples.

The most enlightened spirits in Germany hailed the Revolution with joy and some looked eagerly for a similar movement in their own country. But the rural populations of the northern and eastern parts of Germany were still an inert, unresponsive mass, oppressed by feudal institutions and traditions. The German middle class was as a whole comparatively poor and timid. The influence of the

progressive intellectual elements was still weak. The effects of the Revolution were slow to make themselves felt in England. Characteristic was Burke's view expressed in 1790 that social forms evolve slowly and by virtue of internal principles peculiar to each and that it is folly to attempt to transform them suddenly in accordance with the dictates of abstract reason. But the Revolution found some enthusiastic partisans among English idealists, savants and poets, and even among the nobility. Wordsworth expressed in his Prelude, in 1792, his somewhat mystic enthusiasm for the Revolution. Societies of the Friends of the People for the propagation of revolutionary doctrine were founded in Scotland and the Society of the Friends of the Revolution, formed in London under the presidency of Lord Stanhope, entered into relations with the Assembly and the Jacobin Club in France to the great indignation of Burke and the Tories. In St. Petersburg friends meeting on the street, both Russians and foreigners, congratulated one another on the news of the fall of the Bastille, but the ignorant mass of the rural population slumbered on in abject servitude.

To understand the attitude of the different governments of Europe at the outbreak of the Revolution, we must consider briefly the relations of the powers in the preceding period. From the Peace of Westphalia down to the middle of the eighteenth century England, Austria, and France had been the three great powers of Europe. The widely divergent interests of the first and second had brought them into alliance against the third. But Spain had been generally at the side of France against England after the accession of the Bourbon dynasty to its throne and France had secured allies on the flanks of the Austrian power, Sweden in the north, Poland in the northeast, Turkey in the southeast, and Bavaria in the west. Since these states feared the power of

Austria, they were the natural allies of the enemy of the Hapsburgs. But the rise of Prussia and Russia to the front rank among European powers introduced a profound change into the conditions of European politics. France, abandoning her traditional policy, was drawn into the alliance with Austria against Frederick the Great of Prussia with disastrous consequences. Weakened by the losses and sacrifices of the Seven Years' War, France was compelled to look on inactively while Austria, Prussia, and Russia united in 1772 for the first partition of Poland. Russia and Austria were leagued in 1786 for the partition of Turkey. France offered no opposition to the suppression of the republican party in Holland, which had been its ally, and the reëstablishment of the hereditary stathouderate by Great Britain and Prussia in 1788.

Thus on the eve of the French Revolution the rulers of Europe were distracted by their own ambitions and jealousies. Russia and Austria were engaged in a war for the spoliation of Turkey. Russia and Sweden contested the mastery of lands bordering the Baltic. Great Britain and Prussia were leagued to maintain the military power of the stathouder in Holland. The Franco-Austrian alliance seemed obsolete. Great Britain made an alliance with Holland and Prussia in 1788 to curb the projects of aggrandizement of Russia. Hostilities seemed on the point of breaking out when the Emperor Joseph died in February, 1790, and was succeeded by Leopold II, who in the following July came to an agreement with Frederick William II of Prussia, called the Convention of Reichenbach, as basis of peace between Austria and Turkey, the terms of which were ratified at Sistova, August 4, 1791. Catherine II of Russia, thus isolated, made peace with Turkey, December 29, 1791. She had also made peace with Sweden by the Treaty of Varela on August 14, 1790.

Medal struck in 1790 to commemorate Louis XVI as "Restorer of French Liberty." From the original in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

The rulers of Europe, who for many generations had had no enemies but one another, were instinctively drawing together as though they foresaw the approach of a new and common peril. A conflict between revolutionary France and governments that stood for the old political conceptions was inevitable. To the French patriots, the principles of the Revolution were a religion of liberty with no definite territorial boundaries. The Assembly might solemnly renounce all idea of conquest, but the nation, in its generous enthusiasm, would scarcely turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the oppressed of neighboring lands. Yet at the beginning the sovereigns of the prominent European states were far from displeased at an upheaval which paralysed the power of France without as yet affecting their own security.

The disruptive effect of the Revolution abroad was first felt in countries where there was discontent with foreign domination. Encouraged, doubtless, by events in France, Brabant rose against Austrian rule in 1789. This was of course a national rather than a liberal movement. The Belgians were devoted to the Roman Catholic Church while at the same time deeply attached to their communal and provincial privileges and customs. Belgian liberals were even persecuted by the insurgents and had to take refuge in France. Only in the district of Liége the uprising against the prince-bishop was at once liberal and national and therefore analogous to the revolutionary movement in France. The Assembly in France remained inactive while the emperor subjugated Brabant.

The expectation of foreign intervention to restore the old order in France was of course the chief basis for the hope that sustained the extreme royalists. The aristocratic emigrants maintained a constant agitation on the banks of the Rhine. Their secret emissaries operated throughout the eastern and southern departments of France. Louis

XVI, fearing that his cause would be compromised by the inconsiderate zeal of the French aristocrats abroad, asked the King of Sardinia and the emperor to give no credence to any but the secret agents accredited to themselves by himself. Only four persons shared the knowledge of the secret negotiations of Louis XVI abroad, Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, who now resided at Brussels, Comte de Fersen, a very intimate friend of Marie Antoinette and correspondent of Gustavus III, King of Sweden, his sovereign, Baron de Breteuil, and the Marquis de Bouillé.

It was soon evident that general and disinterested considerations would have little effect in moving the different sovereigns of Europe to intervene in the affairs of France for the relief of Louis XVI. The emperor feared British interference in Belgium and looked with anxiety upon the alliance of Prussia and Great Britain which had been concluded in 1787. The ambition of Russia, still eager for further acquisitions of territory at the expense of Poland and Turkey, was still a cause of preoccupation for him. The Marquis de Bouillé suggested the cession of the French stations in India to Great Britain in return for British abstention from Belgium for the sake of relieving the emperor's distraction, but this means was repugnant to Louis XVI. In the meantime, the French king only received expressions of good-will and vague promises of help from the European courts. The powers were not disposed to aid without material recompense.

The application of the decrees on the abolition of the seigneurial régime in Alsace brought France into conflict with several of the German rulers and with the Empire itself. Several of the German princes living beyond the Rhine possessed estates or territories with seigneurial rights in Alsace. Sovereignty over this province had been ceded by the Empire to France in 1648 with the conditions and

limitations under which it was then exercised. The German princes possessing seigneurial rights in Alsace protested at their abolition by the French Assembly and at first Frederick William II, King of Prussia, favored their cause. Their complaints were brought before the Diet of Ratisbon, where, however, the majority awaited action by the emperor. But the emperor regarded Prussia with certainly no less apprehension than he did France and wished at the time to avoid war. Hence the King of Prussia abandoned the cause of the dispossessed princes.

Avignon and the County of Venaissin, which had been an enclave of papal territory in the Rhône valley since the close of the Middle Ages, were scandalously misgoverned and afforded an asylum for thieves and other refugees from justice from the adjoining parts of France. The spirit of the French Revolution spread to Avignon which rose against the vice-legate, established a municipality, declared itself independent on June 12, 1790, and applied for union with France.

But Carpentras in the County of Venaissin, aristocratic and conservative, wished to maintain the papal authority. Civil strife ensued and Avignon and the county fell into anarchy. The situation was critical when Pope Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy on April 13, 1791. The Parisian populace burned the effigy of the pope at the Palais Royal, May 4th, and the papal nuncio hastily left France. Diplomatic relations between the French government and the Papal See were thus broken off and there was henceforth less reason to respect the papal title to sovereignty over what was geographically French territory. On April 30, 1791, the spokesman for the committees on diplomacy and on Avignon declared that France should take back this territory which rightfully belonged to it. But Clermont-Tonnerre opposed this view, citing the decree

by which the Assembly had renounced all intention of conquest. He declared that the annexation of Avignon would menace all Europe; for, some day, it might be claimed that Brussels was rightfully part of France, because Charles the Bold had reigned there, and Aix-la-Chapelle, because Charlemagne was buried there. On May 24th the annexation of the papal cantons was rejected in the Assembly by a majority of only six votes.

But as the situation in the papal territory could not be overlooked, the Assembly decided on May 25th to send three commissioners as mediators with French troops of the line and the National Guard of Nîmes to effect a pacification. They submitted the future status of the region to popular vote, the first practical application in modern Europe of the principle now known as "the right of self-determination." Of the ninety-eight communes of the papal territory, fifty-two voted for union with France, nineteen voted against union, and twenty-seven abstained from voting. In accordance with this plebiscite the Assembly decreed the annexation of the two districts to France on September 12, 1791. It was the first acquisition of territory made by revolutionary France and it was a formal violation of the solemn assurance of the Assembly. The abolition of the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace and the annexation of the papal districts of Avignon and Venaissin were the first contraventions of international law with which the revolutionary government could be charged.

In the meantime the aggravation of the conflict of church and state in France confirmed the determination of the king to escape from thraldom. After the episcopal elections and the consecration of the newly elected bishops the pope could not remain silent. In two letters, one of March 10th, the other of April 13, 1791, addressed to the non-juring clergy of France, the pope condemned the Civil Constitution of the

The brothers of Louis XVI.

Comte de Provence. From the painting by Joseph-Siffrein Duplessis, at Chantilly.

Comte d'Artois. From the painting by François-Hubert Drouais, in the gallery at Versailles.

Clergy along with the whole theory of the Revolution, the principles of the Declaration of Rights, and liberty of thought, of speech, and of writing indiscriminately on religion.

As we have seen, the ecclesiastical policy adopted by the Assembly, culminating in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, had created an open breach in the clergy of France, dividing it into two hostile bodies which seemed likely to take definite form as distinct and rival organizations, involving permanent schism. The bitterness and complaints of the non-juring clergy deprived of their livings and the fierce disputes that rent the parishes were filling the country with the venomous spirit of hatred and dissension. A small group of enlightened deputies led by Sieyès prevailed upon the Assembly to pass a decree of religious tolerance on May 7th. The non-juring priests were given the right to celebrate the mass in parish churches, chapels, or oratories, or in ecclesiastical edifices belonging to private societies. But in general they did not take advantage of this concession. The celebration of mass by a non-juring priest in a parish church was almost inevitably the occasion for popular disturbance.

The feeling of the nation was not prepared for this measure of religious tolerance. Neither faction was willing to compromise. The refractory clergy rejected the idea of the separation of church and state. They insisted that there should be but one church, their own. The great majority of patriots demanded that there should be only the official church conforming with the legislation of the Assembly. In general the people were intolerant and the clergy uncompromising. Only a few spirits could rise above prejudice to an appreciation of complete religious freedom.

The confusion and embarrassment were aggravated by the fact that in many localities the non-conforming laity refused to appear before the constitutional parish clergy for

the registration of baptism, marriage, and death. This reduced them to the abnormal situation of the Protestants before the remedial legislation of 1787. The demand was made for a system of registration independent of the constitutional church functionaries, consequently a lay registration. This would separate the civil marriage contract from the celebration of the sacramental rite of matrimony. But the Assembly refused to establish a system of lay registration. It was neither willing to weaken the influence of its own clergy or to regard marriage as a purely civil contract without ecclesiastical benediction. The idea of religious liberty was not received with favor by any considerable class of the population. Neither the Assembly, the constitutional clergy, or the refractory clergy wanted it. Neither patriots or non-conformists were capable of appreciating its significance. The unsolved problem of the church remained like an open sore to poison the life of the Revolution.

The departure of the king's aunts, the attempts and intrigues of the counter-revolutionaries, and popular rumors made the people more than ever suspicious of a royal plot of escape. Popular intolerance and suspicion resulted in an untimely incident that confirmed the king's determination to escape.

At the approach of Easter in 1791 Louis XVI asked the Bishop of Clermont whether he could participate in the rites of this festival after his sanction of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which he regarded as having been extorted from him and therefore invalid. The bishop advised him to abstain as the part of prudence. A scandal would arise if he took communion from a constitutional priest at the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, within the parish of which the palace of the Tuileries was situated, and there would be danger in taking it privately from a refractory priest in the royal chapel.

On Palm Sunday, April 17th, the king did not take communion, but was present at the celebration of the mass by Cardinal de Montmorency, a non-juring prelate, in the chapel of the palace. A resolution of the Club of the Cordeliers, passed the same day and placarded throughout Paris the next, denounced to the representatives of the nation the first public functionary of the state for having violated the constitutional laws which he had sworn to uphold. The decree of tolerance had not yet been passed by the Assembly.

The king then resolved to spend Easter at Saint-Cloud where he had passed the previous summer. The departure was set for April 18th. But on that day, aroused by the proclamation of the Cordeliers and the radical journals, a great crowd of patriots of the sections of Paris gathered along the route to Saint-Cloud and filled the Place du Carrousel, mingling with the National Guards. About noon the king and queen and their son and daughter with Madame Elisabeth came out of the court of the Tuileries in a coach. At once a terrible clamor arose and the people seized the bridles of the horses. Lafayette ordered the National Guard to open a passage but they refused to obey.

"It would be amazing," cried the king, "that after having given liberty to the nation I were not free myself." The royal family waited an hour-and-a-half in the coach while Bailly and Lafayette vainly harangued the National Guard. But the guards and people remained stubborn and finally the king yielded and withdrew into the palace. The queen, pale with anger, said to Lafayette: "Now you must at least admit that we are not free." On the next day the king appeared in the Assembly and protested against the treatment which he had received, assuring the deputies of the loyalty of his sentiments and renewing his oath "to maintain the constitution of which the Civil Constitution of the Clergy is a part."

At this time Marat warned the Parisians that they would be guilty of the destruction of three million of their fellow-countrymen if they permitted the king to escape from their walls. On April 23d Louis XVI informed the powers through the regular diplomatic channels that he was free in his actions and had accepted the constitution without restraint. But he sent contrary information secretly to the different courts of Europe. On May 18th the Comte d'Artois interviewed the Emperor Leopold at Mantua, urging him to intervene in France. The latter promised to help Louis XVI, but being still at war with the Turks, he urged that proceedings be delayed. Nevertheless, Louis XVI was determined to carry out his plans for flight at the earliest possible moment.

Meanwhile the revolutionary spirit of France was constantly growing stronger and more radical, chiefly as a result of the activity of the journals and clubs. As we have already noted, the clubs of the Friends of the Constitution, or Jacobins, were most powerful centers of propaganda throughout the country. By June, 1791, the original Jacobin Club in the Rue Saint-Honoré in Paris numbered 1,200 members and the number of affiliated societies in the departments had increased to 406. The meetings of the club in Paris had been transferred from the library of the old monastery of the Jacobins, which was no longer large enough to hold them, to the nave of the church. There were always at least three meetings a week and they were held after six P.M. On the occasion of important discussions there were often as many as 1,000 members and 2,000 auditors present. The subjects of deliberation were prepared in committees.

The zeal of the Jacobin clubs in the northern departments was intensified by the spirited opposition of the refractory clergy and their adherents. The important club in Lille was under the direction mainly of constitutional

N°. XXVI.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE,

OU

LE PUBLICISTE PARISIEN,

JOURNAL POLITIQUE, LIBRE ET IMPARTIAL.

PAR UNE SOCIETE DE PATRIOTES,

ET rédigépar M. MARAT, Auteur de l'OFFRANDE A LA PATRIE, du MONITEUR, & du PLAN DE CONSTITUTION, &c.

Vitam impendere vero.

VERSAILLES ET PARIS.

Du Mardi 6 Octobre 1789.

Trame odieuse contre la Nation. — Moyens de faire face aux besoins de l'Etat. — Denonciation de plusieurs Membres indignes de divers Comites de l'Hôtel de Ville.

Hôtel de Ville de Paris.

POUR se laver d'une imputation malheureusement trop fondée, l'Assemblée des Representants de la Commune s'est oubliée jusqu'à faire afficher contre moi un Placard injurieux. Je serois indigne de la confiance dont le Peuple honore son incorruptible défenseur, si ma loyaute pouvoit

Je suis le véritable pere Duchesne, foutre:

LA MINE ÉVENTÉE,

OU

La Grande Colere

DU

PERE DUCHESNE,

A la découverte d'un nouveau projet de contre-révolution, annoncé pour le 25 Août.

LE plus difficile à écorcher, c'est la queue, dit le proverbe. Je m'étois toujours douté que la fin de la Constitution nous amèneroit quelque foutue

VIVRE LIBRE (N°. 1er.) OU MOURIR.

LE VIEUX CORDELIER;

JOURNAL

RÉDIGÉ par CAMILLE DESMOULINS, Député à la Convention, et Doyen des Jacobins.

Quintidi Frimaire, 2e. Décade, l'an II de la République, une et indivisible.

Des que ceux qui gouvernent seront hais, leurs concurrents ne tarderont pas à être admirés. (MACHIAVEL.)

O PITT! Je rends hommage à ton génie! Quels nouveaux débarqués de France en Angleterre t'ont donné de si bons conseils, et des moyens si sûrs de perdre ma patrie? Tu as vu que tu échouerois éternellement contre elle, si tu ne t'attachois à perdre, dans l'opinion publique, ceux qui, depuis cinq ans, ont déjoué tous tes projets. Tu as compris que ce sont ceux qui t'ont toujours vaincu qu'il falloit

Facsimiles of the entire front pages of three popular newspapers used to incite the people. *L'Ami du Peuple* (The Friend of the People) was edited by Marat. *La Grande Colere du Pere Duchesne* (The Great Anger of Father Duchesne) was edited by Hébert. *Le Vieux Cordelier* (The Old Friar) was edited by Camille Desmoulins.

priests, physicians, and manufacturers, and it was in intimate relations with the clubs of the neighboring industrial centers. The principal clubs in the west of France were at Rennes, Brest, Nantes, and Rouen. The club at Nantes, under the direction of the commander of the local National Guard, exercised a wide influence. The Jacobins were very strong in the east. The clubs at Dijon and Besançon were especially conspicuous and the democratic spirit was widespread in these regions.

The presence in Alsace and Lorraine of large numbers of refractory priests, nobles, and officers ready to emigrate stirred the patriotic societies to a great development. The club of Strassburg contained 423 members in June, 1791, including many departmental administrators, army officers, and constitutional priests. In general a liberal and tolerant spirit prevailed in the clubs of these regions, except among the constitutional priests, who were animated with great bitterness against the refractory clergy. The club of Nancy, reëstablished at the end of 1790, secured the election of patriots in the municipal elections of 1791. There was a strong club at Lyons representing chiefly the medium ranks of the bourgeoisie which was often in conflict with the municipal administration composed of wealthy merchants and manufacturers. But in Marseilles the Jacobins dominated the municipality and exercised an influence over all Provence. The clubs in Montpellier and Nîmes, founded after religious outbreaks in these places in May, 1790, were mainly composed of Protestants who were devoted to the Revolution which had given them their civil and religious rights. The clubs of Bordeaux and Toulouse took the lead in the region of the Garonne.

It should be borne in mind that in general the Jacobin clubs were the organ of the bourgeoisie, often of the upper middle class. Their membership fees were relatively high.

The clubs throughout the country were organized after the model of the original one in Paris. They were animated with the spirit of patriotism and of faith in the Revolution, intensified by constant strife with the aristocratic elements. They were at this time the supporters of order based on the new institutions which they aimed to guard with vigilant care. The watchful eye was the symbol of the original club in Paris, whose membership was still generally tolerant in spirit. They supported the authorities against the forces of anarchy and reaction alike. They exercised a constant influence over the Assembly and the departmental and local organs of authority. The Paris club discussed the orders of the day of the Assembly and designated its president. Sometimes the reports to be presented in the name of different committees of the Assembly were first considered in this club. The Jacobins strove in every way to confirm respect for the new legislation. They supported every measure for the extinction of feudal privileges. They aided zealously in promoting the sale of the national property, investing in it themselves and urging the peasants to follow their example, and they exerted themselves to maintain confidence in the assignats and urged the necessity of paying taxes as a patriotic obligation.

The Jacobins were supporters of a political, as distinguished from a social, revolution. They stood for government by the middle class, based on a restricted franchise. They demanded complete liberty of the press and equality of civil rights. They wished to have the spirit of liberalism pervade the army, but they believed in military discipline and supported the National Assembly in its attitude at the time of the military revolt at Nancy. But as the conflicts between the officers and the troops continued, they became more and more inclined to take the side of the troops and to support the military clubs among the soldiers. Desirous of

avoiding foreign war, which would check the course of internal reforms, they advocated a prudent foreign policy.

At this time the Jacobin clubs throughout the country were the most powerful engine of public opinion. While the local administration was still feeble or disorganized, they presented everywhere a vigorous, undivided front, and their zeal and solidarity enabled them at a given signal to mobilize the force of patriotic sentiment.

But the center of gravity among the Jacobins was gradually shifting towards more extreme democracy. Many of the original members withdrew from the club, finding themselves out of sympathy with the increasingly democratic spirit of the majority. In 1790 Mirabeau's dominating position in the Jacobin Club of Paris was disputed by the triumvirate, Lameth, Barnave, and Duport, and these finally succeeded him. But their supremacy was short-lived. A discourse by Robespierre advocating universal suffrage, published in April, 1791, had a powerful effect on the left wing. The club, more and more penetrated by the democratic spirit, found a leader in Robespierre, the "incorruptible patriot," the inflexible opponent of all the ideas and acts of the counter-revolution. Under his influence the club became later more and more suspicious, defiant, and inquisitorial.

Popular and patriotic societies for the lower middle class and the laborers and peasants sprang up by the side of the Jacobins. These popular societies became very active in Paris in 1791. One or more appeared in each of the sections into which the city was then divided. They made no distinction in their membership between active and passive citizens. All citizens were admitted and sometimes women and even children from twelve years of age. Many of the clubs became veritable schools of civics, where zealous patriots volunteered to enlighten the populace on the science

and practice of government. One of these voluntary professors of civics, Claude Dansart, founded the Fraternal Society of both Sexes, which was housed at the Jacobins by the side of the powerful club which aided and protected it. Its sessions were held at first on the refectory, later in a lateral chapel of the church, and finally in the library. There, on the evenings of Sundays and holidays, Claude Dansart read and discussed the decrees of the Assembly. The members addressed one another familiarly as "brothers" and "sisters." The young women members of the society bound themselves by oath never to marry an aristocrat. The most prominent of the popular societies was that of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen on the left bank of the Seine in Paris. First installed in the Church of the Cordeliers opposite the School of Medicine in 1790, it was ejected by the municipality of Paris in May, 1791, and moved to a house in the Rue Dauphine. Most of its leading members lived in the section of the Théâtre-Français, the present Odéon; Camille Desmoulins, the poet Fabre d'Églantine, and the printer Brune, in the same house in the Place du Théâtre, which is now the Place de l'Odéon, Danton in the Cour du Commerce, close to the convent of the Cordeliers, Marat in the Rue de l'École-de-Médicine, Fournier, called "the American," a former colonist of the Antilles, in the Rue des Fossés-Monsieur-le-Prince, and Nicolas Bonnevill in the present Rue de l'Odéon. Most of the twenty-six members of the electoral college of the department of Paris living in the section of the Théâtre-Français in 1791 were members of this club. Some were members of the Jacobins also, but the majority were only enrolled in the Cordeliers. The meetings of the Cordeliers were held four times a week. They demanded absolute equality of rights, universal suffrage, and direct government with the referendum. Less concerned with theory and more

prone to action than the Jacobins, they stood in the center of the van of the democratic army.

The movement against the property qualification for the right of suffrage grew rapidly. A central committee of representatives of thirty popular societies in Paris was formed in May, 1791, in the Church of the Cordeliers. On June 15th this committee sent the following petition to the Assembly, the text of which was placarded on walls throughout Paris, demanding in menacing tones equality of political rights and the suppression of the different degrees of eligibility to the franchise which violated the terms of the Declaration of Rights:

"Fathers of the Nation, those who obey laws that they have not made or sanctioned are slaves. You have declared that the law ought to be the expression of the general will, but the majority is made up of citizens strangely called inactive. . . . Unless you suppress forever these different degrees of eligibility which manifestly violate your Declaration of the Rights of Man, the country is in danger. On July 14, 1789, the city of Paris contained 300,000 armed men; yet the active list published by the municipality shows scarcely 80,000 citizens. Compare and judge."

Popular societies with radically democratic ideas, distinct from the Jacobin Clubs, were established in all the principal towns of the country and the movement spread from these to the smaller places, affecting deeply the working classes and peasants. At this time the republican idea, suggested by the example of the United States of America, was latent beneath the surface of democratic thought. A republican minority was forming in the left wing of the democratic party, in the popular societies, and even among the Jacobins.

But socialistic aspirations were much more pronounced at this time than republican sentiment. From the time of Rousseau and his essay on the Origin of Inequality among

Men, many writers had appealed to the example of antiquity and the teachings of the gospel in support of the theory of economic equality. The hopes of the social reformers, aroused by the creation of a vast national domain from the ecclesiastical property and its proposed distribution, were bitterly deceived by the outcome. Prosperous peasants and members of the middle class, relieved of the tithe and feudal dues, purchased the national lands on terms very advantageous to themselves, and profited by the economic measures of the Assembly to the exclusion of the less fortunate. A general feeling of dissatisfaction among the lower classes found expression in strikes of the masons and carpenters at Paris in April, 1791, and on June 14th the Assembly suppressed both the unions or associations of the employers and the employees, declaring that wages should be determined by individual agreement. But Le Chapelier, who proposed the decree, expressed the opinion that wages should be raised above the existing level, because the condition of absolute dependence, akin to slavery, created by privation of the prime necessities of life, was incompatible with liberty.

The expressions of the socialistic aspirations were at first quite vague. In February, 1791, the journal *Revolutions de Paris* demanded a share in real property for every head of a family. The Social Circle, or General Confederation of the Friends of Truth, inaugurated October 13, 1790, became the chief center for social reformers. It was composed primarily of freemasons and proposed to become the patriotic meeting place for the lodges of Paris. Its membership was small but a numerous public attended its meetings. Its spirit was Christian, masonic, democratic, and socialistic.

Socialism was entirely in its idealistic, non-practical stage. The Abbé Fauchet, one of the founders of the General Confederation of the Friends of Truth, proposed to establish national society on the foundation of the pure word of the

Savior. The organ of this association, the *Bouche de Fer*, demanded the universal right to property, assistance, and work, universal suffrage and direct government with the referendum. A theorist with no practical experience, the Abbé Fauchet combined a great reverence for religion with his political and social radicalism and appealed very strongly to the sentiment of the lower classes in Paris. This movement was opposed by the Jacobins.

The Assembly, alarmed at the development of the clubs, tried repeatedly, but vainly, to curb their activity. Their audacity increased in the face of opposition. A decree of May 10, 1791, deprived them of the right to address the Assembly by petition or the populace by placards. But the attack of the clubs and journals against the unpopular organization of the suffrage increased in vehemence. The revolutionary spirit grew in force and fervor, and while the Assembly, lagging behind in the march of public opinion, was struggling to hold back society, a crisis was at hand that was to thwart its efforts.

CHAPTER VI

Flight of the Royal Family to Varennes

The king's declaration in justification of his departure. The route chosen and the military detachments posted along the way. The departure from Paris and delays. Choiseul's fateful message to the other detachment commanders. Drouet's recognition of the king and queen; his arrival at Varennes during delay in progress of the royal coach. Arrest of king and queen; royal party at the house of Sauce; recognition of king by Destez. Arrival of Choiseul and Goguelat at Varennes; their proposal rejected by the king. D'Eslon's plan also rejected. Departure of the royal party for Paris and fruitless effort of Bouillé to reach them. The return journey and entrance into Paris. Consequences of the attempted flight. The attitude of parties and disturbances in Paris. Decree of June 26th and 28th. Duport, Lameth, and Barnave as supporters of the king. Republican propaganda. Report of seven committees to the Assembly on Louis XVI. Agitation of the Cordeliers and other popular clubs. Assembly's decree excluding the deposition of the king as a consequence of his flight. The petition of the Cordeliers and the clash of the National Guard with populace in the Champ-de-Mars, July 17th, and the results. The secession of the moderates from the Jacobins and the establishment of the club of the Feuillants. Reactionary tendency of the Assembly and the revision of certain constitutional enactments. Foreign intrigues of the court and the Declaration of Pillnitz.

"I would rather be King of Metz than to remain King of France in such a situation," Louis XVI had declared when he signed the decree of the Assembly compelling the clergy to take the oath to support the constitution, including the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, on December 26, 1790. Following the suggestion of the queen, he adopted the idea of appealing to Europe for aid. An appeal to foreign assistance in domestic contests was less abhorrent to public opinion at that time than it would be at present. The history of France afforded many precedents for such a step. Coligny and the Huguenots had

Comte Axel de Fersen. From an engraving after a miniature in the possession of Baron de Klinckowstrom.

The house of the Comte de Fersen, in the Rue Matignon, Paris.

called the English and Germans into France and the League had invited the interference of the House of Austria. The great Condé had intended to lead Spanish troops to Paris after the Fronde.

Allusion has been made to Marie Antoinette's futile idea of warfare on a limited scale, or a military demonstration by her brother on the French border, as a solution of the difficulties and a means of saving the throne. The emperor insisted very plausibly that the king must first leave Paris where he would be exposed to the vengeance of the revolutionary factions.

Emigration had filled the foreign border towns from Brussels to Turin with an uneasy element, welcomed at first for their social distinction or supposed wealth, but often becoming a source of trouble or embarrassment to their hosts. Their financial situation was often precarious and their pretensions, persistence, and intrigues were often disconcerting. The exaggerated conduct of many of the émigrés, their gambling, revelries, and flirtations, contrasted strangely with the life of the phlegmatic burghers of the Flemish and German towns. The émigrés demanded the sweeping away of the entire work of the Revolution. They were especially virulent in their attitude towards the moderate leaders in France whom they held chiefly responsible for what had occurred. Yet, while calling Europe to put down the Revolution and restore them to their oldtime privileges, they would have been the first to fly to arms to prevent the alienation of a single acre of French territory as recompense for the intervening powers. They expected the powers to intervene solely in the interests of monarchical solidarity. The Comte d'Artois demanded a serious invasion of France for the restoration of the Old Régime, but Breteuil, as plenipotentiary of Louis XVI, put the emperor on his guard against the ardor of the king's brother.

After the affair of April 18, 1791, further residence in Paris with the existing circumstances seemed unendurable to Louis XVI. He was determined to fly to the army of Metz, commanded by Bouillé, which, he supposed, was still loyal. He believed that at news of his presence with this army the nation, already disillusioned by the effects of the Revolution, would throw itself at his feet, and that the Assembly would dissolve and submit. He never suspected that the army of Bouillé was already infected with revolutionary sentiment and that the nation, determined to preserve the Revolution, would regard his flight as an enterprise against liberty, would realize that on the frontier their king would become the plaything of the German forces already massing, and that moderates and radicals of all classes would unite and forget their differences for the time in defense of national safety and independence.

From April on the king and queen were engaged in working out, with their confidential councillors and especially Bouillé, the details of their proposed flight. A declaration addressed to all Frenchmen was drawn up by the king or by his advisers in his name to be left behind as justification of his departure. In it, the king complained of all the outrages which he had suffered,—sole recompense for all his sacrifices,—the destruction of the royal power, the neglect of all constituted authority, the violation of the rights of property and the security of the individual, in a word, complete anarchy, and the disregard and misrepresentation of all the king's consideration, care, and generosity for this people. The royal declaration then exposed the defects of the constitution. The king had no share in the formation of laws, only the right of arresting until the third legislature the measures which he regarded as unconstitutional. Justice was administered in his name but he only nominated the royal commissioners, who had little power. He was excluded entirely from

the internal administration, which was entrusted entirely to the departments, districts, and municipalities, elected bodies, too numerous and without force. They were overshadowed by the influence of the Friends of the Constitution, which was a body without responsibility. Hence the action of the administration was futile.

The command of the military forces was nominally in the hands of the king. But in reality the work of forming the army and navy was performed by committees of the Assembly without the participation of the king. Although the king retained the appointment of a fourth or third of the officers, this right was rendered illusory by the objections and obstacles constantly raised against his choice. Foreign affairs supposedly belonged to the royal prerogative but selection of ambassadors by the king was really a farce. The reservation of the power of revising and confirming treaties to the National Assembly and the interference of the diplomatic committee of the same body entirely destroyed the right of the king to conduct foreign negotiations. It was impractical to impart the details of negotiations, even though they were carried on in a spirit of complete frankness and sincerity, to an Assembly whose deliberations were necessarily public. The administration of finances had been taken entirely out of the king's hands.

It was further alleged that the Assembly was guilty of many faults and shortcomings, such as the complete absence of a systematic tabulation of receipts and expenditure, the abolition of taxes "which were in fact burdensome to the people, but which provided assured resources," ordinary contributions very much in arrears, and extraordinary resources of 1,200,000,000 of assignats nearly consumed. Through its committees the Assembly had appropriated all the powers of government. The committee on researches exercised a veritable despotism. The Friends of the Constitution

formed an immense corporation more dangerous than any of those that had existed previously. Through it the nation and liberty were involved in great peril. The king regarded it as impossible to govern a kingdom of the extent and importance of France with the means established by the Assembly. He recalled all the affronts which he had been made to undergo, those of July 14th and October 6, 1789, the arrest of his aunts while on the way to leave France, the preventing of his own journey to Saint-Cloud, after which he had been compelled to return to the palace henceforth his prison, and he besought Frenchmen to disregard the suggestions and lies of their false friends and turn again to their king, who would always be their father and best friend and would forget all the injuries and insults and gladly return when religion and government had been established on the stable foundation of a constitution freely accepted by himself.

The route chosen for the king's flight passed through Châlons-sur-Marne, Sainte-Menehould, Clermont-en-Argonne, Varennes, and Dun-sur-Meuse, to Montmédy, where the king expected to meet 15,000 Austrians entering France through Luxembourg. With the support of these foreign troops and of the faithful units of the French army he would order the dissolution of the Assembly. Detachments of troops from the French army of the northeastern frontier were assigned to different points along the road beyond Châlons to await the king's coming and to intercept communications from Paris after he had passed. There were forty hussars under Colonel Comte de Choiseul and Goguelat, Captain of Bouillé's staff, at Pont-de-Somme-Vesle; thirty-three dragoons under Captain d'Andouins at Sainte-Menehould; 140 dragoons under Colonel de Damas at Clermont-en-Argonne; sixty hussars at Varennes, 100 hussars at Dun-sur-Meuse; fifty horse of the Royal German Regiment at Mouzon; and 300 of the same regiment

De par le Roy

mon intention étant de me rendre à Montmedy le vingt juin prochain, il est ordonné au Sr de Bouillé, lieutenant général en mes armées, de placer des troupes ainsi qu'il le jugera convenable pour la sureté de ma personne et celle de ma famille sur la route de Chaâlons sur Marne à Montmédy, voulant que les troupes qui seront employées à cet effet exécutent tout ce qui leur sera prescrit par le dit Sr de Bouillé les rendant responsables de l'exécution des ordres qu'il leur donnera. Fait à paris le 15 juin 1791.

Louis

Il est ordonné à Monsieur de Mandell, aux officiers sous officiers et cavaliers du regt. royal allemand, de se conformer à la présente ordre. Stenay ce 21 juin 1791. Bouillé

Order to de Bouille, signed by Louis XVI, relative to the stationing of the troops along the road from Châlons-sur-Marne to Montmedy to assure the safety of the royal family in the flight to Varennes. The note at the foot, written by de Bouille, instructed de Mandell of the Royal German Regiment in regard to carrying out the king's order.

under Lieutenant-colonel de Mandell at Stenay; in all 723 men.

As explanation of this unusual movement of troops, the report was spread that a considerable sum of money was about to be transported along this road for the payment of the regiments on the frontier. According to orders issued by the military authorities, this "treasure" would reach the first detachment, at Pont-de-Somme-Vesle, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The troops of this post were then to form its escort and were to be joined by the troops of each detachment successively as they proceeded northeastward towards the goal.

These plans of Bouillé were in general well-conceived. But the spirit of the rural population in Champaigne and the Argonne and the rapid disintegration of the army were not sufficiently considered. Revolutionary sentiment was rapidly penetrating the army and there was good reason to fear that if the troops once learned of the real nature of the undertaking, they would go over to the side of the patriots. At the last moment Bouillé was compelled to replace a German regiment stationed at Montmédy, which was in a state of ferment, with a battalion from Thionville. Furthermore, the commander designated for the detachment of Varennes was transferred to Dun, leaving Varennes to a young second lieutenant.

The people of the countryside were very suspicious. Very few believed the story of the "treasure." Some resented the presence of the troops as portending an interference in local affairs, but the impression was widespread that an attempt on the part of the royal family to escape from Paris was imminent. A number of persons at the Tuileries were of necessity admitted to the secret, Madames de Tourzel and Campan, ladies-in-waiting of the queen, Comte de Fersen, who arranged the means of flight at Paris, and the three

body guards who were to accompany the king. The radical press was continually alluding to the flight of the king as a certainty.

A passport was prepared for the royal family, signed by the king and countersigned by Montmorin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the following form:

"By order of the King, to all civil and military officers charged with the surveillance and maintenance of public order in the different departments of the kingdom and to all others to whom it may concern; Greeting. We order and command that you are to allow freely to pass the Baroness de Korff, going to Frankfurt with two children, a woman and a valet de chambre and three domestics, without causing her any hindrance or permitting that she be hindered in any way. The present passport is valid for one month only.

"Issued at Paris, June 5, 1791. Louis.

"By the King. Montmorin."

The supposed Baroness de Korff was the queen. The king in brown redingote and round hat appeared as the valet de chambre.

After dining and receiving Lafayette on the evening of June 20th, the king retired about ten o'clock. When he was sure that his valet de chambre had fallen into a sound sleep, he rose and with the queen, the dauphin and his sister, usually called Madame Royale, and Madame Elisabeth, passed by private doorways to the former apartment of the Duc de Villequier, in the entresol of the palace, which had been unoccupied for a long time. Thence they issued into the Court of the Princes, where there was no sentinel. From there they proceeded cautiously and apart to the extremity of the Court of the Carrousel, at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, where Comte de Fersen awaited them with a carriage. The queen started first, but either lost her way in the maze of narrow lanes and blind alleys or felt compelled to make detours to avoid

passers-by and arrived at the rendezvous a half hour late. When the party had finally entered the carriage which was driven by de Fersen, there was another unfortunate delay while they made a wide detour through the Faubourg Saint-Honoré to ascertain whether the travelling coach, which had been especially constructed for the journey and had been stabled in that quarter, had set out, according to instructions, for the barrier of Saint-Martin, where the royal family was to transfer to it. Finding this coach already at the barrier, de Fersen drove up alongside of it so that the travellers could pass from one vehicle to the other without being seen by the coachman.

De Fersen accompanied the royal family as far as Bondy, whence the travelling coach continued on its route with the king, the queen, the royal children and governess, and the three body guards. The queen's women followed in another coach. The king had with him no man upon whose judgment and initiative he could depend. A time-table had been drawn up for the journey and the proper working out of the plan depended upon a fair degree of promptness, but two hours had been lost by the time the party left Paris and they had not gone very far when another hour was lost in making a repair to the vehicle.

Choiseul arrived at Pont-de-Somme-Vesle, the station of the first detachment, at eleven A.M. on the 21st. Goguelat arrived with the forty hussars at noon. The king was due at two P.M. but hours passed and the coach did not appear. The peasantry gathered in irritation at the presence of the military force and the situation became embarrassing. At five, Choiseul despatched Leonard, the queen's coiffeur, along the road in the direction of Montmédy with a note to the commanders of the different detachments informing them that the "treasure" was not coming. Somewhat later Choiseul and Goguelat with the hussars set out towards

Varennes, taking side-roads, in violation of Bouillé's orders which were to keep to the main highway so as to intercept couriers from Paris.

The royal family reached Pont-de-Somme-Vesle about an hour later. The king was surprised at not finding the detachment, but encountered no obstacle. The royal coach reached Sainte-Menehould at eight. There, upon reading Choiseul's note, Captain d'Andouins had ordered his dragoons to unsaddle their horses. Upon seeing the coach he approached it and said in a low voice, "The measures have been badly executed. I am leaving you to avoid suspicion."

It was still dusk and yet the curtains of the coach were not drawn, so that Drouet, postmaster of Sainte-Menehould, looking in, believed that he recognized the queen, whom he had seen many times during his seven years of military service with the regiment of Dragoons of Condé. Likewise, in the personnage in the great redingote, he thought that he recognized the king from likeness to the portrait of Louis XVI on the assignats. He communicated his suspicions to the municipal authorities who deliberated in haste and ordered him to follow the coach and arrest it.

Drouet set out immediately on horseback at high speed on the road to Clermont, accompanied by Guillaume, a former dragoon of the queen's regiment. About ten the king reached Clermont, where Colonel de Damas, upon reading Choiseul's note, had ordered his dragoons to unsaddle their horses about an hour before, and the detachment was scattered about the place in its billets. The royal coach stopped just long enough to change horses. At Clermont also the appearance of the large coach in connection with the presence of the troops created suspicion. De Damas brought his detachment together and ordered them to follow the coach, but the crowd interposed, crying, "Long live the dragoons," and the latter replied, "Long live the nation," and refused to obey. De

Arrest of the royal family at Varennes during the attempt to escape to the frontier on June 21, 1791.
From the painting by Henri Cain.

Damas fled with some officers, after having despatched a courier to the detachment of Varennes. But the courier through an error took the road to Verdun.

Straightway Drouet and Guillaume reached Clermont and informed the municipality of the situation and they sent two couriers by short-cuts through the forest to reach Varennes ahead of the coach.

At eleven-thirty the coach stopped at Varennes, a place of 1,500 inhabitants on the Aire. The upper town on the left bank was connected by a bridge with the lower town on the right bank. The detachment, which had been stationed at first in the upper town, had been transferred to the extremity of the bridge on the opposite side of the Aire in the lower town, where it was thought that pursuit could be more easily arrested. But the king, who had not been informed of this change, reaching the upper town, was surprised at not finding the relay of horses. The postillions, following the orders of the postmaster of Clermont, refused to go any further.

In the course of the resulting delay Drouet reached Varennes, saw the royal coach outlined in the moonlight against the white walls of the houses, and galloped down the main thoroughfare to the church, the porch of which formed an arch over the road. There he entered the inn of the Bras d'Or and asked Leblanc, the landlord, in a low voice whether he was a patriot. Upon the assurance of Leblanc that both he himself and those about him were patriots, Drouet informed him that the king had fled from Paris, was about to descend the street, and must be stopped. Drouet was conducted to the procureur of the commune, the highest local authority in the absence of the deputy-mayor, one Sauce, a grocer living near the bridge.

Sauce despatched his children to arouse the town with the cry of fire while he himself obstructed the bridge with two

overturned vehicles and some furniture and then took his stand at the inn adjoining the church. The whole town was soon astir, while the detachment of hussars was asleep in its billets scattered about the lower town on the right bank of the river.

The king's postillions, finally yielding to his entreaties, drove down the principal street at a rapid gait. But at the arch spanning the road in front of the church the coaches were stopped and Sauce demanded the passport and asked the travellers to get out and go to his house for closer scrutiny of the document. The supposed Baroness de Korff protested indignantly, but resistance was useless and the party followed Sauce to his house, passed through his shop on the ground-floor, and ascended a dark, narrow stairway to the rooms above. They were accompanied by Drouet, Guillaume, Leblanc, and several municipal officials.

A comparison of the royal likeness on the assignats with the features of the supposed valet of the Baroness de Korff convinced Drouet that the king was before him.

"If you think that he is your king, you should at least show him more respect," cried the queen indignantly.

The destiny of the King of France, descendant of Louis XIV, heir of a long line of illustrious sovereigns, was now in the hands of a petty communal official, village grocer in an obscure corner of the country.

While the officials of Varennes, overwhelmed by the gravity of the situation, stood speechless and hesitant, it occurred to Sauce that there was at the time a judge in town, Destez, who had often seen the king at Paris.

Destez was sent for. Entering the apartment, he instantly recognized the king and exclaimed, "Ah, Sire," throwing himself at his feet. Dissimulation was now no longer possible. "Yes," said Louis XIV, "I am your king. Here are the queen and the royal family." The news

spreading rapidly quickly brought together a crowd of the towns-people, eager to see the king, and variously moved by affection, suspicion, or fear.

The king, trying to win the support of Sauce by feigning an interest in the latter's affairs and in local concerns, asked whether business was going well, whether there was a club at Varennes, and whether the parish priest had taken the oath to the constitution. He assured Sauce that he had had no intention of leaving France but meant only to go to Montmédy, where he could communicate with the National Assembly without restraint. But his efforts were without effect.

Meanwhile Choiseul and Goguelat, returning from Pont-de-Somme-Vesle, after a fatiguing ride by bad roads, reached Varennes about one A.M. They crossed the bridge over the Aire and proceeded to the post of the hussars but found that the second lieutenant in command of the detachment had already left Varennes in great haste with de Raigecourt and the son of Bouillé to inform Bouillé of events. Returning to the left bank, Choiseul and Goguelat sought the presence of the king and proposed that the royal party, mounted on the horses of seven of the hussars, and escorted by themselves, should break through to Dun. But the king could not bring himself to adopt so bold a plan. He hoped that Bouillé would arrive in time with a strong force to extricate him and therefore sought to temporize. Sauce also wished to gain time until the National Guard of the region should assemble. Meanwhile the crowd outside became impatient of delay and began crying "To Paris." To Choiseul and Goguelat, Drouet declared "You can only have the king dead."

The king insisted that he should be permitted to continue his journey in peace. The municipal authorities sent repeated delegations to urge him to return to Paris. Thousands of patriots were now assembling from the whole countryside, both men and women, armed with muskets, scythes, or clubs.

With every moment's delay the fatal band was strengthening about the royal family. In a violent encounter between the National Guard of Varennes and the hussars of the military detachment Goguelat was wounded by a pistol shot. The hussars, harangued, by the communal authorities, began to waver. When the king appeared at a window, they cried, "Long live the nation."

D'Eslon, commander of the detachment at Dun, informed of events, set out at three A.M. and reached Varennes about two hours later. There he found the bridge barricaded but obtained permission of the commander of the local National Guard to see the king and asked the latter for his orders. Louis XVI replied that he was a prisoner and had no orders to give. D'Eslon had brought with him eighty men and he proposed that with these and as many of the hussars as remained loyal he force a way to safety, but again the king recoiled from forcible measures.

At seven on the morning of the 21st the valet Lemoine, entering the king's chamber in the Tuileries, had found the bed empty. He gave the alarm. An hour later the tocsin was sounded and Paris was soon in an uproar. A great crowd assembled about the Tuileries, variously swayed by amazement, terror, indignation, or rage. Lafayette, although suspected of complicity in the king's flight, acted with coolness and determination. He signed the order to bring the king back alive or dead and ten of his aides-de-camp rode off in different directions. The Assembly met and declared itself in permanent session, and confirmed the order for the king's arrest. De Romeuf, one of Lafayette's aides, rode at desperate speed across Champagne. Reaching the foot of the Argonne at midnight, he mounted the wooded slopes, passed through villages where the tocsin was sounding and fires had been lit, fell in with an excited throng at Clermont about five A.M., and learned of the events at Varennes.

At seven de Romeuf reached Varennes, bringing the order of the Assembly, which, upon learning of the king's departure on the morning of the 21st, had formally suspended him from office. Then at last the king and royal family were compelled to set out for the return to Paris.

In the meantime the younger Bouillé and de Raigecourt, after having informed d'Eslon of events at Varennes, had reached Stenay about three A.M. There the elder Bouillé was just on the point of setting out to return to Montmédy. Informed of the king's arrest, he straightway ordered the Royal German Regiment, present to the strength of 300 men, to proceed to Varennes with the utmost speed. But their Lieutenant-colonel de Mandell, showing little eagerness to compromise himself for the royal cause, the regiment did not leave until five o'clock and it arrived at Varennes about nine. Bouillé had hoped to overtake the royal coach, but the king was already back near Clermont, the whole country was under arms, the cavalry regiment was fatigued and unwilling to advance further.

There was nothing left for Bouillé but to return to Montmédy, whence later he sought refuge in Luxembourg with his son and other officers.

At 1.30 P.M. the king reached Sainte-Menehould, where he was received with marked indications of hostility. A little beyond this point the Comte de Dampierre, while attempting to approach the royal coach to express his loyalty, was killed by the crowd in sight of the king. All day the royal family were treated with indignity and the vilest insults by the crowds. At eleven in the evening the royal party was at Châlons. On the next day, a religious festival, the king attended mass at Châlons, but the patriots interrupted the service to hasten his departure. Between Épernay and Dormans the king was met by the commissioners, Barnave, Pétion, and Latour-Maubourg, who had been despatched

by the Assembly to bring him back. They were accompanied by General Mathieu-Dumas, who, having been charged with the maintenance of order as the party proceeded, took command of the forces of the National Guard. Barnave took his place in the coach between the king and the queen, the latter holding the dauphin on her knees, and Pétion sat opposite between Madame Elisabeth and Madame de Tourzel.

Barnave, touched by the lot of the beautiful and unfortunate queen, treated the royal family with the utmost respect and deference. But Pétion was vulgarly talkative and familiar.

The party took their evening meal and passed the night at Dormans, where the king was unable to sleep in the poor inn beset by a noisy crowd outside. On the 24th, a day of great heat, a pause was made at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, where the king walked for a time with the commissioners in the shaded garden of the mayor's residence overlooking the Marne. He invited the commissioners to table with him but they excused themselves, fearing that such evidence of familiar relations would provoke unfavorable comment. After passing the night at Meaux, the party resumed the journey at six A.M. on the 25th, another day of extreme heat.

There was an ever-increasing crowd of people and guardsmen along the road as the travellers approached Paris and serious disorders occurred at several places. Barnave saved the life of a priest who was threatened by the populace. The party swung around the city and entered by the Porte de la Conférence and traversed the Champs-Elysées. Placards had been posted up throughout Paris warning the people against any demonstration. Anyone who acclaimed the king was to be flogged; anyone who insulted him was to be hung. An enormous crowd watched the passage of the royal family in absolute silence. But the

volunteers of the Faubourgs Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau carried loaves of bread stuck on the points of their pikes as evidence that the absence of the king had not created a famine and only the vigorous intervention of the commissioners and Mathieu-Dumas saved the lives of the king's three body guards from the violence of the populace upon arrival of the royal party at the Tuileries. The royal family was closely guarded in the palace, sentinels being stationed even in the private apartments.

The queen was said to have aged twenty years in appearance, when she removed her night-cap in the morning, her attendant noticed that her hair had turned white.

The attempted flight of the King and Queen of France is one of the most thrilling dramatic episodes of history. It involved far-reaching consequences. The success of the project would have led to a conflict which could scarcely have been confined to a civil war. Foreign powers would almost certainly have intervened, the Revolution would probably have been suppressed, and France would have suffered serious loss of territory and prestige. If the various factors in the plan had coöperated properly and each armed detachment had fallen in at the appointed place behind the royal coach, the king should have been out of danger when he reached Varennes. In reality, he was arrested within a few hundred yards of safety. The Revolution was saved through a combination of unexpected circumstances, the alertness and determination of Drouet, postmaster at Sainte-Menehould, and the sense of patriotic responsibility of Sauce, procureur of the commune of Varennes.

The kingdom had been thrown into consternation at news of the king's flight. Civil war, the invasion of France, the triumphant return of the émigrés, and the restoration of the Old Régime had seemed imminent. Indignation was aroused against Bailly and Lafayette, who were regarded as

responsible because they had not prevented the king's escape.

But the Assembly rose to the gravity of the occasion and restored a feeling of calm and security by its firmness and moderation. It assumed the executive power, voted that all its decrees should have the force of law, ordered the mobilization of 100,000 of the National Guard, postponed the elections for the future Legislative Assembly, and took measures to maintain public tranquillity, calming the people by a proclamation.

The flight to Varennes was a turning point in the course of the Revolution. It alienated from the crown a strong body of provincial, moderate opinion which had, down to this time, been unshaken in its loyalty. The patriots throughout the country, suspecting the moral complicity of the aristocrats in this event, demanded the adoption of severe repressive measures against them. In many places the barriers of the towns were closed and the emigration of the aristocrats was prevented. The carriages of prominent members of the nobility were requisitioned. Arms were seized in the châteaux. There was a recrudescence of the incendiarism of the summer of 1789 and many châteaux were burned.

An anti-monarchical movement filled Paris with excitement. For the first time republican propaganda became active and was stimulated by the agitation of the radical press. Every possible suggestion of word or situation in the dramatic presentations of the time was made an occasion for the explosive manifestation of political sentiments by the audiences in the theaters. The republican movement was marked in the east and south as well as in Paris.

But the substantial forces of society conspired at this time to save the monarchy as a necessary bulwark against anarchy. On the day following the king's departure the

Marie Antoinette and her children. Standing at her side is Marie-Thérèse Charlotte, called Madame Royale; at the right is the first dauphin, who died in 1789; on her lap is the dauphin, who was later called Louis XVII. From the painting by Madame Vigée Lebrun, in the gallery at Versailles.

Jacobin Club of Paris addressed the affiliated societies of the country in the following words of Barnave:

"Brothers and friends, the king, misled by criminal suggestions, has deserted the National Assembly. All dissensions are forgotten; all patriots are united. The National Assembly is our guide; the constitution is our rallying cry."

The intention was evidently to prepare public opinion for the acceptance of a fictitious explanation, as later given out by the Assembly for the purpose of saving the monarchy, that the king was carried off by his false friends and councillors.

The fear of invasion fed the patriotic fervor of the nation and the Jacobins took the lead in demanding adequate measures for defense and in stimulating the energy of the administration and the spirit of the military forces. But the army was rapidly disintegrating. Emigration set in again and the frontier garrisons were denuded of their aristocratic officers. Meanwhile, the various military reforms adopted from time to time by the Assembly had not been carried out. An auxiliary army of 100,000 men decreed on January 28th had not been organized.

Economic disturbance increased the agitation among the laboring class in Paris. Emergency workshops established for the relief of the unemployed had recently been closed. Crowds of the discontented assembled at the Place de Grêve and the Place Vendôme. But the animosity of the National Guard, which represented the bourgeoisie, the friends of order, and which was now kept constantly on duty, and fatigued and harassed by the popular disturbances, became very bitter against the laborers, who formed the main part of the republican party, and class enmity was greatly aggravated.

On the question of the effect of the king's flight on his legal status there was the widest possible divergence of opinion

among the different factions in the Assembly. The aristocratic party insisted that the king was inviolable and therefore irremovable. The groups of the extreme Left claimed, on the other hand, that the manifesto addressed to all Frenchmen which the king had left behind at the time of his flight should be regarded as an act of abdication because it condemned the Revolution and the constitutional laws which had been passed and had received the royal sanction. But a large part of the constitutionalists in the Center, believing that it was necessary to strengthen and consolidate the executive power, was determined to keep Louis XVI on the throne, while suspending him temporarily from the exercise of the royal prerogative.

The committee on the constitution, representing the main body of moderate opinion, proposed that the aristocrats supposedly responsible for the abduction of the king should be arrested and examined and that a deputation of two members of the Assembly should wait on the king and queen to receive their explanatory declarations. The king was to remain for the time practically suspended from his functions by reason of the decree of June 21st which gave force of law to decrees of the Assembly without royal sanction or consent.

Malouet, as spokesman of the Right, denounced these proposals as unconstitutional, since they conferred upon the Assembly both legislative and executive powers which should remain separate. But Lameth insisted that the majority of the Assembly had no intention of changing the form of government while at the same time he declared his adherence to the monarchy as necessary for unity of power and action in the state. The Left opposed the plan on the ground that it created a distinction in the treatment of persons inconsistent with the principle of equality laid down in the Declaration of Rights, inasmuch as the aristocratic accomplices of the king's

flight were to be examined as criminals while the king and queen were merely to be invited to submit declarations.

But the proposed decree in somewhat modified form was passed on June 24th and 26th. It left the king in virtual suspension by confirming provisionally the validity of decrees of the Assembly without the royal sanction or assent. The king was a prisoner in his own palace. A guard was placed over him under orders of the commander of the Parisian National Guard. The king and queen were to be given a hearing by the Assembly through their declarations.

At this critical juncture of his affairs, the king received the unexpected support of some former prominent members of the advanced party who had been left behind by their companions in the rapid march of the Revolution towards extreme democracy. Chief among these were Duport, Lameth, and Barnave, who were now eager to coöperate with the court in the cause of order against the extreme democrats and the republicans.

Barnave, who assumed the rôle of a disinterested Mirabeau, drew up the royal declaration, an able document, calculated to prepare the way for a reconciliation of Louis XVI and the Assembly. It stated that the king had only departed because he had been insulted and outraged with impunity, as on the previous April 18th, that he had never intended to leave the kingdom, and that he had not had any understanding with foreign powers or with his relatives abroad. He had intended to stop at Montmédy. It denied that the royal manifesto of June 21st had attacked the substance of the constitution. This declaration agreed with the views of the main body of constitutionalists.

But the partisans of law and order under the constitutional rule of Louis XVI were somewhat embarrassed by the appearance at this same time of a letter of Bouillé from Luxembourg which revealed the plan for a counter-revolution which

was to be carried out after the arrival of the king at Montmédy, aiming at the dissolution of the Assembly and the convocation of a new deliberative body with the protection of the foreign armies concentrated beyond the frontier. The party of the extreme Right published a long declaration drawn up by d'Esprémesnil and signed by 290 deputies, protesting against the imprisonment of the king and announcing the decision of the signers not to participate any longer in the labors of the Assembly.

The constitutionalists who had made advances to the Left were incensed at this declaration, but it did not overcome the force of the circumstances drawing these parties nearer one another. A group of deputies led by Malouet formed a link between the constitutionalists and the uncompromising aristocrats.

The fact that the king had been suspended rather than deposed irritated the extreme democratic and republican elements and tended to provoke an insurrectionary movement. The left wing of the Jacobins concurred with the Cordeliers in a program calling for the dethronement of the king, but not for a republic. They proposed that the dauphin be made king with a regent. It should be noticed that the Duc d'Orléans was too discredited for his supporters to make any serious effort to make him king or regent at this time.

The eminent American, Thomas Paine, then in Paris, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Revolution and actively supported the idea of a republic in France. On July 16th Condorcet published his *Letter of a Mechanic on the Republic* in which he undertook to refute the arguments usually urged against the establishment of a republican form of government and showed by the example of the United States that an extensive territory was not necessarily an obstacle. He claimed that, while the monarchy had formerly been

The stopping of the king's coach at Varennes on the night of June 21st which frustrated the attempted escape of the royal family. From an aquatint in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The return to Paris of the royal family from Varennes escorted by a portion of the National Guard and three commissioners sent for the purpose by the National Assembly. From the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

necessary for dominating the powerful intermediary political bodies and insuring unity in the government, the suppression of these and the establishment of political equality had done away with this necessity. Paine drew up a manifesto demanding in the name of the American Republic the establishment of a republic in France.

But the arguments of the republicans were contradicted by the constitutionalists and by many of the democrats. Sieyès regarded the monarchy as the necessary guarantee of stable government. Robespierre declared before the Jacobins on July 13th that he was neither republican nor monarchist, but both, and this in conformity with the principles of the constitution. The French constitution, in his opinion, was a republic with a monarch, hence both monarchy and republic.

A report was presented to the Assembly on July 13th in the name of seven committees, to which the question of the king's culpability had been referred, declaring that Louis XVI should not be placed on trial or deposed. It was discussed on July 13th–16th and the democrats made this an occasion for demanding equality of treatment for all the king as well as the others, and insisting that the king should be brought to trial before a "national convention" with authority to pronounce his deposition. As yet no voice was raised in the Assembly for a republic. The constitutionalists regarded royal inviolability as a necessary and salutary restraint on the legislative power. They were not moved by personal consideration for the king but by respect for the royal office. Despite the stubborn resistance of the radical groups, the view of the committees was adopted by the Assembly.

The extreme democrats and republicans were now preparing for action. On the 13th the Cordeliers had addressed an appeal to the nation, urging the electoral assemblies to insist

on the withdrawal of the decree of the Assembly postponing the elections. The Cordeliers and popular societies drew up the so-called *Petition des Cent*, asking the Assembly to make no decision as to the fate of the king until the communes of France, in other words the people, had expressed their wish.

As their delegates were not received by the Assembly, the Cordeliers and other popular societies gathered in the Champ-de-Mars on the 15th to the number of three or four thousand and drew up a new petition, designating six commissioners to carry it to the Assembly. On the afternoon of the same day these commissioners presented themselves at the Assembly and asked to speak with Pétion and Robespierre for the purpose of requesting them to persuade Charles Lameth, then president of the Assembly, to have the petition read before that body. But Robespierre and Pétion informed them that the Assembly had already taken action that made the petition futile. To calm the people and provide for the future security of France, the Assembly then had before it a proposed decree providing that the king should be regarded in future as having abdicated if he retracted his oath to the constitution, if he placed himself at the head of an army to make war on the nation, or if he allowed any one to do this in his name, and that, becoming a simple citizen in any of these cases, he would cease to be inviolable and could be arraigned for his actions subsequent to his abdication. The first articles of this decree, from which deposition was excluded for the present, had already been voted when the commissioners of the popular societies presented themselves at the door of the Assembly.

Upon the passage of this decree the chiefs of the popular factions aroused the multitude. But the place of meeting of the Assembly was surrounded by the National Guard and could not be invaded. The Cordeliers addressed themselves to the Social Circle, where more than 4,000 persons had

gathered, and to the Jacobins. The latter, under the influence of Danton, after an animated discussion adopted a petition on the 16th calling for the deposition of the king and the substitution of another executive "by all constitutional means," the terms excluding the idea of a republic. Danton and others went to read this petition to the crowd assembled at the altar in the Champ-de-Mars, but they were met with the vehement cries of disapproval: "No more monarchy! No more tyrant!"

The Jacobins discussed their petition again, but without changing its form, and then, learning of the decree of the Assembly maintaining Louis XVI on the throne, but suspending him from the exercise of the royal prerogative until the completion and presentation for his acceptance of the constitution, they withdrew the petition, although it had already been published in placards, and thus conformed with the decision of the legislative body.

But the Cordeliers and the popular societies continued their agitation, drawing up a new petition in which they declared that the decree of the Assembly was null and void as contrary to the desire of the sovereign people and demanded judgment on the guilty king and the organization of a new executive power. Although not mentioned, the republic was evidently in the minds of the authors of this petition. The petition was placed on the altar of the nation for the citizens to sign on the 17th.

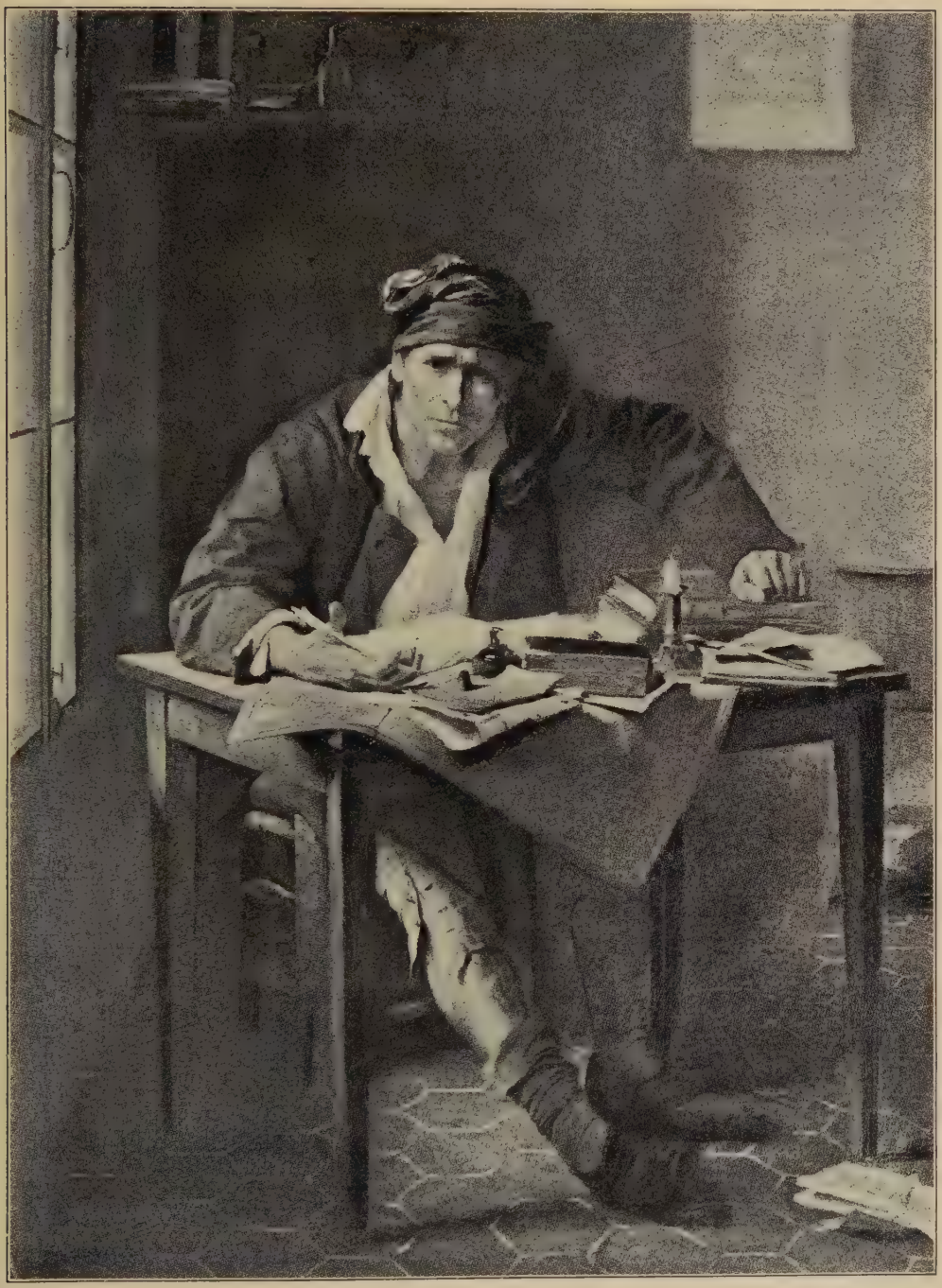
The Assembly and municipal authorities of Paris were resolved to put an end to the disturbances and adopted vigorous measures. Early on the 17th, while the women were mounting the altar to sign the petition, two men found hidden beneath were suspected of some treasonable intention and massacred by the crowd. Hence about eleven A.M. the municipality sent a battalion of the National Guard to the Champ-de-Mars. The populace greeted them with a shower

of stones and the excitement increased. Martial law was declared by the municipality in the afternoon and as indication of this a red flag was raised at the central window of the Hôtel de Ville. At 6.30 Bailly and the municipal authorities set out with a red flag, accompanied by troops of infantry and cavalry with loaded weapons and some guns. They were reinforced on the way by Lafayette with about 1,200 of the National Guard. Entering the Champ-de-Mars, where the crowd had grown to eight or ten thousand, the troops were assailed with showers of stones from all sides. In accordance with legal requirements the authorities summoned the crowd to disperse, but could not make themselves heard. The crowd, ignoring the authorities, cried "Down with the red flag," and continued pelting the National Guard with stones.

Accounts differ as to what followed. The National Guard is said first to have fired a volley into the air at the command of Lafayette. Then, as the tumult continued, either by command or getting out of hand from irritation at the obstinacy of the insurgent multitude, they fired into the crowd, which fled leaving about fifty dead in the Champ-de-Mars and others where they were pursued outside.

This encounter was the beginning of a definite breach and deadly hatred between the moderate constitutionalists and the extremists, democrats and republicans. It reflected the growing antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which was to reappear in all revolutionary movements and periods in France down through the nineteenth century. The discord among their opponents encouraged the aristocrats. But the element then in the ascendancy was prepared to take a vigorous stand against the extremists on both sides.

The authorities undertook to silence the journalistic organs of radical propaganda. Marat's paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, was seized and the presses were broken. The presses of



Jean Paul Marat who, in fanatical advocation of absolute equality, proposed violent solutions in *L'Ami du Peuple* which he wrote and crudely printed himself. From the painting by D. L. Sauter.

Freron's *Orateur du Peuple* were seized. The *Revolutions de France et de Brabant* of Camille Desmoulins ceased to appear. Decrees against many well-known patriots were issued by the public prosecutor and Danton took refuge in England.

For a time the Jacobins were weakened by the secession of many moderates, who regarded their attitude as seditious and formed a new club which took its name from the meeting place in the convent of the Feuillants, close to the hall of the Assembly. By July 18th the Feuillants numbered 365 members, including such prominent leaders as Barnave, the Lameths, Duport, Lafayette, Sieyès, Le Chapelier, Talleyrand, and Du Pont de Nemours. By October 4th they had grown to 789.

But this partial eclipse of the influence of the Jacobins was not of long duration. They entered into a spirited competition with the Feuillants for the support of the political clubs in the departments. In a circular letter addressed to the affiliated clubs, Robespierre showed that the conduct of the Jacobins in Paris had been strictly legal and innocent of any seditious tendency. In a short time nearly all the clubs which had ceased correspondence with the Jacobins in Paris were won back and many of the prominent members who had withdrawn, such as Talleyrand and Sieyès, returned. Many newly-formed clubs throughout the country applied for recognition and affiliation.

In contrast with the democratic spirit which was rapidly gaining ground, the majority in the Assembly was determined to fortify the executive power by the revision of constitutional provisions already enacted. They admitted the ministers to the legislative body, thus giving the executive a direct influence in the making of laws. As a step towards the reconstitution of a titled nobility members of the royal family were given the title of princes and princesses. Whilst the royal prerogative was increased as much as seemed possible

or expedient at the time, the suffrage was restricted by raising the property qualifications for voters. The Assembly also closed the National Guard in future to all but active citizens, while allowing passive citizens who were members of the National Guard at the time to remain in it as long as they were deemed worthy. Despite the opposition of Robespierre, the liberty of the press was restricted, and the right of collective petition was abolished to undermine the influence of the clubs. The Assembly decreed that revisions of any articles of the constitution might be proposed by the third, fourth, or fifth legislature and should be submitted to the deliberation of an assembly of revision composed of the legislative body and 249 especially elected members. This would have prevented any revision by legal means within ten years.

The reactionary tendency displayed by the Assembly at a time when the prevailing spirit of the people was becoming more and more ardently democratic increased the irritation of the radical factions and was regarded with disapproval by some of the constitutional party. It was evident that the judgment of the Assembly had been warped by personal and class interests and prejudices and that it failed to appreciate the irresistible evolution of opinion and the logic of the situation. Its aim of establishing a middle class obligarchy became ever more marked, and its continual disregard of the small proprietors, laborers, and the poor, who were deprived of political rights and disappointed in their hopes of amelioration of their economic condition, intensified their hopes of a further revolutionary movement.

Notwithstanding the improvement in the prospects of the king from the support of prominent constitutionalists, the court pursued its fatuous policy of intrigue with foreign powers. The queen, while deceiving Barnave and Lameth with the semblance of recognition and goodwill, corresponded

with Breteuil, the chief of the secret diplomacy, and with her confidential advisers, Mercy and de Fersen. To deceive the Assembly, a letter, drawn up with the concurrence of the chiefs of the constitutionalist party, was sent in her name to her brother, the Emperor Leopold, declaring that the situation of the king was much improved through the efforts of Barnave and Duport and requesting him to maintain the alliance with France as it would strengthen the French monarchy. But the queen followed this with a secret letter disavowing its contents. On August 16th she wrote to Mercy: "In any case foreign powers alone can save us; the army is lost, there is no money; no bond or brake can restrain the populace who are everywhere armed."

The émigrés had been filled with hope at the flight of Louis XVI and thrown into consternation at his arrest. But their agitation continued and their number along the Rhine was constantly increased by fresh arrivals. There were 20,000 at Coblenz, their chief rallying point, by the end of 1791. The Comte de Provence, who had escaped from Paris at the same time as his royal brother and with better luck, had made his way across the Flemish frontier to Brussels and now assumed the title and functions of regent.

On July 10th the Emperor Leopold had proposed to the rulers of Europe that they send a declaration to the Assembly demanding full liberty for Louis XVI. That he might have his hands free for eventual intervention in the affairs of France, the emperor signed the Peace of Sistova with Turkey on August 4th, and concluded a treaty with the King of Prussia on July 25th recognizing the independence and the new constitution of Poland, which was to be ratified at an interview at the country-house of Pillnitz near Dresden, in Saxony.

But at this juncture the constitutionalist chiefs in concert with Montmorin, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent

confidential instructions to the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador of Louis XVI at Vienna, who was in sympathy with Lafayette and the Feuillants, expressing their intention of restoring the king to power. A note in the same sense was transmitted to Leopold who gave up for the time all serious thought of intervention. The Comte de Provence and the Comte d'Artois, with Calonne as chief minister of their spurious court, sent ambassadors to the different sovereigns and undertook to carry on negotiations, often at cross-purposes with the secret diplomacy of Breteuil.

The Comte d'Artois, admitted to the conference at Pillnitz, obtained after a spirited discussion the famous but rather evasive declaration of August 27th:

"The Emperor and the King of Prussia regard the present situation of the King of France as an object of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe. They hope that the latter will not refuse to employ, conjointly with themselves, the most effective means, proportionately to their resources, for placing the King of France in a position to establish, with complete liberty, the bases of a monarchical government suitable alike to the rights of the sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation. Then, and in this case, the Emperor and the King of Prussia are resolved to act promptly, in mutual accord, with the necessary forces to obtain the common end proposed."

Frederick William II, King of Prussia, favored an armed intervention through which he hoped to obtain Alsace, but Leopold was averse to war and relied upon the terms of the declaration to save his policy from the appearance of inconsistency, knowing that Great Britain, directed by Pitt, would remain neutral and that therefore the concerted action of the powers could not be realized.

The French princes were at heart greatly disappointed, but publicly proclaimed the Declaration of Pillnitz as token

of impending doom for the subversive elements in France. But the arrogant tone of the declaration irritated the Assembly and stirred the indignation of the French nation. Foreign rulers evidently assumed the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of France and to dictate to a great nation, appealing to force in case of non-compliance. The patriots were alarmed and steps were taken to place the frontier in a state of defense. But the king and queen knew that they could not count on the emperor.

CHAPTER VII

The Constitution of 1791

Completion of the constitution and the king's unwillingness to reject it in spite of objections. Gouverneur Morris, then in Paris, together with Burke and others, advised the king to accept it only with important reservations, but in vain. Synopsis of the constitution: sovereignty vested in the nation, exercised through the nation's mandataries; restrictions on the right of suffrage and indirect method of elections, qualifications of electors; separation of powers; legislative body; obligations and powers of the crown; the local administrative authorities; judicial organization. Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Forces threatening the constitutional government.

The Assembly had finally completed its great task of forming the fundamental laws of the country and the time had come for the king to accept or reject the constitution. Distasteful as were some of its provisions, he could not bring himself to reject it. If he refused to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution he would be regarded as having abdicated and the regency would belong to his elder brother, the Comte de Provence, and the court would pass under the sway of the princes whose influence he regarded with suspicion and disfavor.

A distinguished American, Gouverneur Morris, resident at this time in France, was a keenly interested observer of the course of events in which he even took a minor part. His great-grandfather, Richard Morris, after having fought in Cromwell's armies, migrated to America at the time of the Stuart restoration and founded the manor of Morrisania on the site now included in New York City. Gouverneur Morris, born on January 31, 1752, graduated from

King's College and admitted to the bar in New York in the disturbed period preceding the War of American Independence, was aristocratic in temperament and distrusted the democratic tendencies of the time, but believed in the justice of the American cause. As member of the New York provincial congress he advocated the Declaration of Independence and later as a lawyer in Philadelphia he published an important series of essays on finance. He was associated with Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, from 1781 until 1785. A representative of Pennsylvania in the Constitutional Convention, he favored the establishment of a strong executive, an unlimited term of office for the chief executive, an aristocratic senate, and the restriction of the franchise to freeholders. He went to France on private business in February, 1789, and remained nine years, becoming American minister to France in 1792. It was natural that he sympathized with the royal power in France at this time.

Prominent foreigners, such as Gouverneur Morris and Edmund Burke, advised Louis XVI to accept the constitution only with important reservations, and Pellenc, former secretary of Mirabeau, who had passed into the service of La Marck and the court, formulated a plan for such limitations. But the king turned his face against their suggestions.

On September 13th a deputation of sixty members of the Assembly waited on Louis XVI to receive his decision and he replied by letter, accepting the constitution with certain very minor reservations regarding the administrative organization and pledged himself to defend it at home and abroad. On the next day he took the oath of fidelity before the Assembly and on Sunday, the 18th, the formal proclamation of the royal acceptance at the Hôtel de Ville was celebrated with great splendor. News of the royal acceptance distressed the émigrés, who at the time regarded the king's capitulation as

fatal to all hope of aid from foreign sovereigns, and disappointed the extreme democrats and republicans who feared that the people would look upon it as the conclusion of the Revolution.

The constitution incorporated the Declaration of Rights, which had been adopted by the Assembly as the statement of essential principles for its work, and reënacted the decrees abolishing titles and orders of nobility, the venal and hereditary character of public offices, exclusive privileges of all kinds, all compulsory associations of members of trades or professions, and the binding force of religious vows. Sovereignty belonged inalienably to the nation as a whole and was exercised by delegation through the nation's mandatories. The functions of the crown, which remained hereditary, were an exception; but the theory of a popular derivation of the royal power was recognized in the king's title: "Louis, by the Grace of God and the constitutional law of the state, King of the French." Political functions were conferred on citizens without other distinction than merit and talent.

The nation delegated its authority through popular election. The suffrage had been granted in 1787 for the elections for the municipalities and provincial assemblies, but the right to vote had been limited to those paying at least ten livres annually in direct taxes and eligibility to office to those paying at least thirty. The deputies to the States General had been chosen on the basis of a very broad right of suffrage, but by an indirect method with two degrees of election for the country and three for the towns.

Timocratic qualifications for electors and elected and the indirect method of election were retained by the Constitution of 1791. The Assembly distinguished between "active citizens," who possessed the right of suffrage, as well as the civil and natural rights, and "passive citizens," who possessed

Louis XVI accepting the Constitution and taking the oath of fidelity on September 14, 1791. From an allegorical painting by Moreau Le Jeune.

only the civil and natural rights. The active citizens, that is, all male Frenchmen twenty-five years of age paying direct taxes equivalent to at least three days' labor in their particular districts, and inscribed on the rolls of the municipality and the National Guard (excepting persons engaged in domestic service, bankrupts, and Jews), formed the primary assemblies in the towns and cantons. They were required to take the civic oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king. The primary assemblies of the cantons and towns chose delegates to the electoral assemblies of the departments, in the proportion of one for every hundred active citizens.

The Assembly, as observed in the last chapter, in its desire to create a middle class oligarchy in France, had established a relatively high qualification for the electors, or members of the secondary electoral assemblies. Eligibility to the electoral assemblies was limited to owners or usufructuaries of real property assessed for taxation purposes as yielding a yearly revenue equivalent to at least 200 days' labor, then valued at 200 francs, in towns of a population of 6,000 or more, or of 150 days' labor, or 150 francs, in smaller towns; tenants of property assessed at 150 or 100 days' labor in towns of 6,000 population or less than 6,000 respectively, or at 150 days' labor, or 75 francs, in the country; and farmers or metayers of holdings assessed at 400 days' labor, or 200 francs. While the immediate electorate was thus very much restricted, it should be noted that the elections for the Legislative Assembly had already begun under the system of 1789 before these revised qualifications had been adopted. According to statistics of May 28, 1791, France had 4,298,360 active citizens in a population of about 24,000,000. The electoral assemblies, containing less than 50,000 electors, all of comparatively affluent circumstances, were intended to be the stronghold of middle class conservatism.

The qualification for eligibility to the municipal, district, and department assemblies was the payment of direct taxes equivalent to ten days' labor. Eligibility to the Legislative Assembly depended upon the payment of direct taxes of the value of fifty days' labor or the silver mark, a half pound in weight, amounting to about 54 francs, and the possession of real property.

The principle of the separation of powers was accepted as a fundamental maxim of the constitution. The executive power was ascribed to the king, the legislative belonged directly to the nation represented by the Legislative Assembly. This body was a single chamber with 745 members apportioned among the different departments of France on a threefold basis, 247 according to relative extent of territory, 249 according to population, and 249 according to the amount of taxes paid. The length of a single legislature was fixed at two years, and the king had no power to prorogue or dissolve it. At the end of two years elections followed as a matter of course. The Assembly had full legislative power, limited only by the king's suspensive veto which was effectual for two legislatures and not applicable to financial bills.

Royalty was declared hereditary in the male line of the House of Bourbon, according to the rule of primogeniture. Upon his succession to the throne the private estate of the king was merged with the national domain, but he received a civil list of 25,000,000 livres, paying from it his "constitutional guard" of 1,200 foot and 600 horse. The king was required to take an oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the constitution, and was to be regarded as having abdicated the throne if he failed to take the oath or retracted it when taken, if he led a military force against the nation or did not formally condemn such an enterprise if undertaken by others in his name, or if he quitted the kingdom and did not return within a time fixed by the legislature.

As the supreme executive power, the king was head of the administration and chief of the army and navy. He appointed his ministers, but members of the Legislative Assembly were excluded from appointment as ministers during their term of office as deputies and for two years afterwards. The king possessed no right of initiative in legislation, although his ministers had entry into the legislative body and could demand a hearing on matters concerning their respective departments. But not being deputies they were likely to be regarded with suspicion by the members of the chamber. In fact, the exclusion of deputies from the ministry, decreed in consequence very largely of the envious suspicion of the members of the Assembly for one another, and especially for Mirabeau, and of dogmatic faith in the principle of the separation of powers, in disregard of the example of England, tended to isolate the executive and to destroy the unity of the government.

The filling of all local offices by popular election was the chief cause of the lack of coherence in the administration. The king as head of the central authority had no local representatives. The chief local force in the administration was lodged in the municipalities which made out the roll of taxpayers, assessed the direct taxes and collected them, and forwarded the sums collected to the districts and departments. The municipalities were authorized to call on the troops, the National Guard, or the gendarmerie to quell disturbances, and the state had no effective means of coercing them.

To the king was ascribed the direction of foreign relations. He conducted negotiations with foreign powers and signed treaties, but subject to their ratification by the legislative body. War could only be declared by decree of the legislative body upon the king's formal proposal and with his subsequent sanction. He appointed all diplomatic

representatives. As head of the army the king had a limited patronage. He named the six marshals of France. Two-thirds of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels received their commissions by seniority, while the other third were selected by royal appointment. Captains and lieutenants were chosen according to seniority. Public competitive examinations were held for the selection of second lieutenants. Non-commissioned officers were chosen by the colonels from lists submitted by the captains and non-commissioned officers.

The active citizens of the commune elected the members of the municipal body, whose number varied according to population from three to twenty-one, and the notables, who were twice the number of the municipal body. Half of these classes of officials were elected at a time and for a period of two years. Together they formed the council general of the commune which was only convoked for important matters. The mayor, chief of the municipal corporation, was elected by the active citizens of the commune and was reëligible for two years. The procureur of the commune, elected for two years and reëligible, had charge of the material interests of the community. He had no voice in the municipal body. The district was administered by a council general of twelve members and a directory of four with executive power, all these elected for four years, half being renewed every two years. The procureur syndic, elected in the same way, conducted the business affairs of the district in the intervals between the sessions of the council. The districts apportioned the burden of direct taxation between the communes. The department was administered by a council general of thirty-six members, of whom eighteen made up the executive directory. All these were elected for four years, half being renewable every two years. A procureur general syndic was elected for four years.

Louis-Philippe Joseph, Duc d'Orléans, who took the name Égalité upon the abolition of titles of nobility. From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, at Chantilly.

Although justice was rendered in the name of the king, the judicial power was in all cases derived from popular election. The judicial organization centered in the departments, districts, and cantons. In the field of civil jurisdiction there was a judge of the peace aided by assessors in each canton. He was elected for a term of two years by the active citizens in the primary assembly from among the inhabitants not less than thirty years of age paying at least the equivalent of ten days' labor in direct taxes. It was his function in the first place to endeavor to reconcile the parties to a dispute. He had jurisdiction in all cases of a personal nature and those involving personal property up to the value of fifty livres without appeal and up to a hundred with appeal, and also, subject to the right of appeal, all questions involving real property in the country requiring rapid decision without expenses.

Each district had a court of five judges elected for six years, and reëligible, from among the citizens who had had five years' experience as judges or as members of the legal profession. A royal commissioner, appointed by the king for life, exercised the functions of the public ministry. These courts had final jurisdiction in all cases appealed from the judges of the peace. They had jurisdiction in first and final instance of all cases involving sums up to 1,000 livres of capital or 50 livres of revenue. Cases were carried in appeal from one district court to another.

There were three degrees of penal jurisdiction. The police jurisdiction, entrusted to the municipalities, dealt with ordinary contraventions. Correctional jurisdiction for misdemeanors was attributed to the judges of the peace in the cantons. For the punishment of the serious crimes there was a criminal court in each department composed of a president chosen by the electoral assembly and three judges drawn in rotation, each for three months, from the district courts.

The public ministry charged with conducting the accusation before the jury in each court consisted of two officials, the royal commissioner, appointed by the king, and the public accuser, elected by the electoral assembly of the department. There were two juries, one of eight members which admitted or rejected accusations and another of twelve members, drawn by lot from a list of active citizens prepared by the procureur syndic, which decided the questions of fact in the cases tried.

The court of cassation consisted of judges chosen by the electoral assemblies, one from each department. It stabilized the application and interpretation of the laws and suppressed decisions in which it found defects or errors in procedure or form. Provision was also made for the establishment of a National High Court for the judgment of cases of treason on accusation brought by the legislative body. The electoral assembly of each department was to choose two members for this court.

The final session of the Legislative Assembly was held on September 30th in the presence of the king, who renewed his oath to maintain the constitution. The vicinity of the Manége, filled with a dense crowd, resounded with cries of acclamation: "Long live the king!" "Long live the nation!" "Long live liberty!"

The final words of the king's address were received with enthusiasm by the Assembly. He declared:

"For you, gentlemen, who have displayed indefatigable zeal throughout a long and toilsome undertaking, there remains a duty to be fulfilled when you are scattered over the surface of this empire, that of expressing to your fellow-citizens the true sense of the laws that you have made for them, of admonishing those who disregard them, of purifying and unifying opinion by the example that you will give them of love and order and submission to law. I expect that you

will be interpreters of my sentiments to your fellow-citizens. Say to all that the king will ever be their chief and most faithful friend, that he needs their love, that he can only be happy with them and through them. The hope of contributing to their welfare will sustain my courage, as the satisfaction of having succeeded in this will be my dearest recompense."

When the king had withdrawn, Thouret, the president, declared in a loud voice:

"The Constituent Assembly declares that its mission is accomplished and that at this moment it finishes its sessions."

Thus the Assembly which had solemnly bound itself by the Oath of the Tennis Court not to separate until it had given France a constitution, having completed its task, yielded its power into other hands.

The Constituent Assembly had contained an unusual number of men of distinguished and varied talents. It had been inspired by a high ideal of liberty and justice. Laboring with enthusiasm and indefatigable perseverance in the face of determined resistance and accumulated difficulties, it accomplished a great revolution in the institutions of France. It abolished the deeply-rooted abuses and exclusive privileges and established civil equality, cemented the unity of the nation, and encouraged the development of national sentiment. Transitory as was a large part of its constitutional enactments, they foreshadowed in their character and scope nearly all the liberal progress of the following century.

The Constituent Assembly contributed to the economic, as well as political, revolution by transferring a large amount of ecclesiastical and royal lands to the bourgeoisie and peasantry and by suppressing all artificial barriers to liberty of labor and the internal commerce of the country, thus stimulating individual enterprise and preparing favorable

conditions for a rapid increase of the national wealth, population, and resources.

In proclaiming the right of the self-determination of all peoples the Assembly laid the foundation of a new ideal of international justice which was destined to transform a large part of Europe.

The ideal of the Assembly, even after the flight of the king, in spite of the antagonism of the populace, the extreme democrats and republicans, and the plots of the aristocracy and of the court, had been to conciliate the monarchy with liberty. The Constitution of 1791 was the embodiment of the ideas of the middle class, which at the time held the balance of power. According to this constitution the people were the source of all power, but they did not exercise it. They had only the right of suffrage in the primary assemblies. Those who exercised authority by delegation of the nation were chosen by the enlightened or favored minority who formed the electoral assemblies, the courts, the municipal bodies, and the militia. On them the constitution conferred the force and power of the state. The electoral institutions had been carefully devised for restricting the full political franchise to those whose circumstances seemed to offer the best guarantee of intelligence in the exercise of the right.

Although the royal power was made dependent on the electorate, the Constitution of France of 1791 was less democratic than that of the United States of America. In a new country, comparatively free from class discord, where exclusive privilege had scarcely gained a footing, after a successful war for independence, the more democratic institutions were readily workable. As soon as the mother-country had renounced its authority over the revolted American colonies, the struggle in the United States was over. But the case with the political and social revolution in France was

Declaration of martial law at the Champ-de-Mars, July 17, 1791.
From the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

Mannequin of the pope burned by the Parisian populace in the Gardens of the Palais-Royal, May 4, 1791, as Pius VI had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. From the sketch by Prieur.

far different. There the system of government adopted by the Assembly and sanctioned by the king remained subject to constant attack from both sides, by the reactionary aristocracy and by the populace under the influence of demagogues and professional agitators. The excesses of the one extreme faction excited the opposite one to fresh violence until the cause of moderation was lost through civil war and the attack of a foreign coalition.

In 1789 the nation had almost unanimously demanded a change of government and for a time the revolutionary movement had fairly represented the aspirations of the majority for reform. By the time of the dissolution of the Assembly a period of nearly two years had elapsed since the second violent outbreak of the Revolution, the invasion of Versailles by the populace. The crisis provoked by the king's attempted flight had passed. The king and queen had recovered popularity after the king's acceptance of the constitution. Seemingly the work of the Constituent Assembly satisfied the majority of the nation and there was at the time reason to suppose that the dissolution of this body would mark the close of the revolutionary movement. The solid, industrious elements of society, impressed by the evils resulting from disorder, yearned for a return to stable conditions.

But the frenzied ambition of some, the selfish designs of others, and the utopian doctrines of a small minority drove the nation onward in the course of innovation and upheaval. The uneasy elements were determined that the revolutionary movement should not rest with the Constitution of 1791.

Theorists who wished to make a clean sweep of existing institutions so as to create a government and society based on pure reason regarded the work of the Assembly as a monstrous incongruity. Their dogmatic doctrines had no weight with the peasantry, who were only stirred by fear

that tithes or feudal dues would be reimposed. They supplied the urban rabble with catch-words vaguely comprehended or misunderstood. Their notions were mainly cherished by certain visionary or discontented elements of the middle class and were most effective in combination with the conceit or ambition of those who aspired to political or popular leadership.

The parties supporting organized agitation were determined to undo the king and overthrow the constitution.

A Jewish confidential emissary of Frederick William, King of Prussia, named Ephraim, who had been in France since September, 1790, frequented the political clubs and distinguished himself by the violence of his democratic ardor, and used every means to stir up the public against the queen so as to embroil France with Austria. He is known to have supplied money to the agents of revolutionary propaganda. Finally, after the dispersal of the populace in the Champ-de-Mars, he was accused of financing seditious outbreaks, arrested, and sent back to Prussia. Von der Goltz was still working actively in the interest of the King of Prussia and in coöperation with several influential revolutionary leaders.

The Duc d'Orléans, who had returned to France July 11, 1790, failed to profit by the crisis of the king's flight. But his friends and agents were ever active and his private fortune, the largest in France, was the chief source of funds for organized propaganda. His agents collected a band of hired ruffians, many of whom were Italians. One of these, known as Rotondo, was said to have been sent to Saint-Cloud in the summer of 1790 to murder the queen whilst she was walking in the garden and failed because it rained on the day appointed and the queen remained indoors. In the following November Rotondo and Cavallanti, another brigand of the same class, led a mob to pillage the house of

the Duc de Castries, who had wounded one of the de Lameths in a duel. Madame de la Motte, famous for the necklace episode, returned to Paris and entered into relations with the Duc d'Orléans who provided her a magnificent abode in the Place Vendôme in return for fresh libels on the queen.

The growing indifference to politics of a large part of the stable element of the nation gave the extremists and demagogues a great advantage. The industrious population found irksome the frequent demands of the duties of citizenship on their time and attention. Thus at Chartres, in May, 1790, of 1,551 active citizens, 1,447 were absent from the primary assemblies. Of 3,200 enrolled for the municipal elections at Besançon, 2,141 were absent in January, 1790, and 2,900 in the following November. At Grenoble in the same year more than 2,000 of the 2,500 enrolled failed to vote. At Paris 67,200 of the 81,200 active citizens abstained from voting in August, 1790, and 71,408 three months later. At the primary elections in Paris for the deputies of the Legislative Assembly in 1791 more than 74,000 failed to appear, and of the 946 electors chosen not more than 200 cast their vote. Citizens who neglected the right of suffrage were naturally infrequent in their attendance at the political clubs, where their moderating influence was abdicated in favor of the extremists.

The desertion of the revolutionary party by many prominent leaders, such as Barnave, Le Chapelier, Duport, Alexandre de Lameth, the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Duc de Liancourt, in July, 1791, added for a time to the strength of the government. But the withdrawal from the Jacobins of many moderates, friends of order, constitutionalists or Feuillants, was an event of far-reaching importance for the progress of the Revolution. The character and influence of the club were greatly modified by the loss of this restraining element. It forthwith became the leading organ of radical agitation.

The old-time habit of provincial subordination to Paris produced by the administrative centralization of the country favored the development of a remarkable solidarity and efficiency of organization in the Jacobin clubs throughout the country. The affiliated clubs in the departments imitated faithfully the statutes, rules, and spirit of the original society in the capital. The latter printed the list of all these clubs at the head of its journal. It published their denunciations and demands and every Jacobin in the remotest places of France felt himself sustained, not only by his local club, but by this vast organization covering the entire country. All obeyed instructions from Paris and a constant correspondence kept alive the unity and maintained the solidarity of ideas of the body.

Through this agency the ideas of a small group of dominating spirits in the Rue Saint-Honoré were spread broadcast throughout the country, imposed upon a multitude of docile followers, and given the semblance of a spontaneous expression of national opinion.

Laclos, the chief agent of the Duc d'Orléans, a man who shrank from nothing, clever, depraved, author of several works celebrated for their obscenity, who had taken an active part in the Réveillon affair, in the burning of the octroi barriers of Paris and of the châteaux, in creating the great panic in the summer of 1789, and in instigating the march to Versailles, became secretary of the Jacobin Club of the metropolis with control of its correspondence in November, 1790.

The government as elaborated by the Constituent Assembly was thus threatened at the same time by an invasion of covetous foreigners in league with the vindictive French émigrés and by a compact minority of the population, burning with intolerant faith in impossible revolutionary ideals or controlled by determined and unscrupulous leaders.

CHAPTER VIII

The Legislative Assembly

Conditions in which its membership was elected. Decree making members of the Constituent Assembly ineligible to the new body. Character of the membership of the new Assembly: the Right, the Center, the Left. Prominent Girondins: Brissot, Condorcet, Vergniaud, Isnard, Gensonné, Guadet. Extreme Left. Oath to the constitution. Royal visit to Legislative Assembly. Difficulties confronting it: emigration, refractory clergy. Atrocities at Avignon. The queen's policy. Letter of Louis XVI to the King of Prussia. Elements in France desiring foreign war and those opposed to it. Discussion of the question of war or peace in the Jacobin Club. Bellicose attitude of the Assembly and Vergniaud's violent address. Arming of the populace. Treaty of February 7, 1792, between Austria and Prussia. Reply of the emperor to French demands. Fall of the French ministry.

The legislative body as provided for by the constitution convened on October 1st and straightway took the name of National Legislative Assembly. To understand its character we must consider the conditions in which its membership was elected.

On May 17th the Constituent Assembly had adopted in a misguided spirit of disinterestedness the proposal of Robespierre and the radical democrats, supported by the court, that none of its members should be eligible to the next assembly. By this measure the extremists aimed to render powerless a large body of influential friends of law and order. The court was moved by petty jealousy of the prestige of some of the moderate leaders. The majority of the Assembly was taken by surprise and accepted without proper forethought a bill that excluded from the new assembly all who had acquired practical experience in the old one. Other

circumstances were unfavorable to the moderates. Thus in June, 1791, and the following months the active citizens were summoned to the elections for half of the administrators of the eighty-three departments, the 544 districts, and the 41,000 communes, as well as the presidents of the criminal tribunals of the departments, the public accusers, mayors, and procureur-sindics of the communes, and the officers of the National Guard throughout France. The large number of elections were a burden to the busy citizens who formed for the most part the solid, conservative element, and, as we have seen, they increasingly neglected the franchise, giving the extreme factions a disproportionate political influence. The civic oath required of voters excluded 40,000 recalcitrant priests and a large number of scrupulous laymen from participation in the elections. Most of the men of ability and social prominence of the first years of the Revolution, former Parliamentarians, members of the municipal corporations, commanders of the National Guard, representatives of the higher bourgeoisie or provincial nobility, now retired into private life. On the other hand, while the greater part of the primary elections for the new Assembly had been held before the crisis created by the royal flight, most of the final elections took place in August and September, after the republicans had been discomfited and the influence of the Jacobins had undergone a partial, although temporary, eclipse. As it was, the elections were very largely controlled by the clubs and partisan organizations. Many of the lawyers, so numerous in the Legislative Assembly, had thrown themselves into the Revolution more for personal interests and ambitions than from real love of liberty.

The Legislative Assembly contained very few eminent or famous men, but many who were destined to win distinction. It included twenty-six members of the constitutional clergy,

including ten bishops, many officers, merchants, manufacturers, agricultural proprietors, and about 400 lawyers. The court, nobility, and clergy had exercised practically no influence in the elections and there were no partisans of absolute power or aristocratic privilege in the Assembly. There was a general shifting of the center of political gravity towards the Left. So in the new Assembly the Right corresponded with the moderate party in the old one. It numbered at first 160 members, firm constitutionalists, who wished to strengthen the executive as a bulwark against disorder. They were supported by the Feuillants, a large part of the bourgeoisie, the National Guard, and the directories of the departments. They were more or less in relations with the court through Barnave, Duport, and Alexandre de Lameth.

The Center, consisting of about 400 deputies, of whom 164 were Feuillants, the most numerous party, was sincerely attached to the new order, but showed little force. Pastoret, one of the members of the Center, who belonged to the Club of the Feuillants, was elected president against a Jacobin candidate.

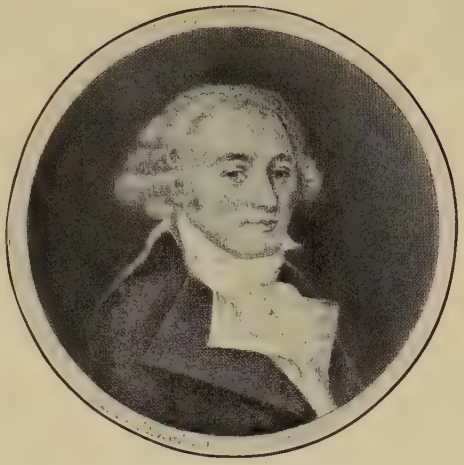
The nucleus of the Left was formed of a group of brilliant orators, many of whom were representatives of the department of the Gironde, from which the party came to be known later as the Girondins. Most conspicuous among them were Brissot, the political chief of the group, Condorcet, the intellectual inspiration, and Vergniaud, the greatest orator.

Unlike most of the others, Jean Pierre Brissot was not from the southwest of France; he was born at Chartres in January, 1754. He entered the legal profession and his writings on the philosophy of law show how thoroughly he was imbued with the ethical and humanitarian precepts of Rousseau. He conceived a project for a general concourse of all

the savants of Europe and started a journal in London which was to be the organ of their views, but the plan was unsuccessful and when Brissot returned to Paris he was charged with having published works against the government and was confined four months in the Bastille. He became interested in the cause of the abolition of negro slavery and founded in Paris the Société des Amis des Noirs, as agent of which he visited the United States in 1788. He published an extensive account of this journey and his observations, *Nouveau Voyage dans les États Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, three volumes, in 1791. Brissot was from the first an ardent supporter of the Revolution. The keys of the Bastille were presented to him at the time of the demolition of the ancient fortress. His great mental activity and forceful eloquence were constantly in evidence in the journal *Patriote Français*, of which he was editor from 1789 to 1793, in the tribune of the Assembly, and in the Club of the Jacobins. Brissot's considerable knowledge of the state of foreign powers contributed greatly to his ascendency in the strife of parties in the Assembly as war against the leading states of Europe became imminent.

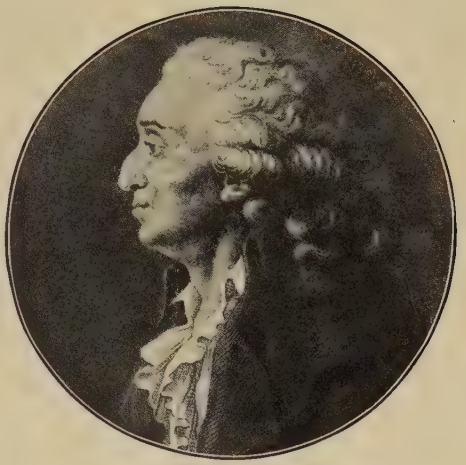
Condorcet was also from the north. Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, was born at Ribemont in Picardy, September 17, 1743. He was educated at the Jesuit College in Reims and the College of Navarre in Paris where he displayed the most varied intellectual activity and talent, but distinguished himself particularly in mathematics. He was admitted to the Academy of Sciences in 1769 and his contributions to its memoirs were numerous and profound. His religious and political opinions were very largely formed by d'Alembert, Turgot, and Voltaire, and he was an active collaborator in the preparation of the *Encyclopædia*. He was elected to the French Academy in 1782. He married Sophie de Grouchy, sister of Marshal Grouchy,

Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville. After an engraving by Levachez.



Leaders of the Girondins.

Pierre Victorin Vergniaud. After a water-color in the collection of M. Aulard.



Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet. After an engraving by Levachez.

regarded as one of the most beautiful women of the time. Her salon at the Hôtel des Monnaies, where Condorcet lived as Inspector General of the Mint, was one of the most famous of Paris on the eve of the Revolution. Condorcet was filled with enthusiasm at the advent of democracy and labored indefatigably to hasten its triumph, writing a great number of pamphlets. He was elected as representative from Paris in the Legislative Assembly, where his reputation for learning and his democratic theories at once gave him great influence and he assumed a position like that of Sieyès.

Pierre Victorin Vergniaud was born at Limoges in 1753. The character of his political oratory reflected his solid education, wide range of knowledge of the classics, and of ancient history and philosophy. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1782, and practised in Bordeaux. His genius was a curious combination of unusual ability with a tendency to lapses into reverie and languor. The power of sustained exertion combined with his brilliant talent might have given him the dominating position in France. But his characteristic weakness appeared in both his professional and political career. He was elected a member of the Council General of the Department of the Gironde in 1789 and his fame as an orator soon spread far and wide. When his voice was raised in the Legislative Assembly, where he sat as deputy of the Gironde, it was felt that a new power had appeared that might sway the destinies of the country.

The eloquence of the Provençal Isnard, Maximin Isnard, born at Grasse in 1751, a perfumery dealer, elected as deputy for the department of Var, was even more passionate.

Among the other prominent Girondins may be mentioned Armand Gensonné, born at Bordeaux on August 10, 1758, an advocate of the Parliament of Bordeaux at the outbreak of the Revolution, procureur of the commune in 1790, elected member of the court of appeal by the department

of the Gironde in 1791, and deputy of the same department in the Legislative Assembly, and Marguerite Élie Guadet, born at Saint Emilion, July 20, 1758, who won a great reputation as an advocate at Bordeaux and was also elected deputy in the Assembly for the Gironde.

The Left comprised 136 members of the Clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers and about 100 others. It had as yet no subversive policy, but supported the constitution, while mainly concerned with the defense of the Revolution. Both the Right and Left upheld the revolutionary régime established by the Constituent Assembly; for the time they differed chiefly in their method of defending the results obtained. The Right wished to adhere strictly to the provisions of the constitution in opposing the counter-revolutionary movement, while the Left insisted upon more radical measures. The Girondins were idealists, inspired by a fanatical faith in their theoretical doctrines, impatient of all practical hindrances to the absolute application of their system. They were inclined to regard their predecessors of the Constituent Assembly rather disdainfully as men of limited vision, restricted by timidity or prejudice. Convinced of their own superior intelligence and of the perfection of their creed, they believed that the public welfare required that the government should be in their hands.

In their eagerness to control the Assembly the Girondins availed themselves of the support of a group of popular representatives and unscrupulous demagogues forming on the extreme Left. Prominent among the latter were François Chabot, who had been a Franciscan friar before the Revolution and had remained in the clerical order as a constitutional priest, becoming grand vicar of the Bishop of Blois, Claude Basire, deputy of the Côte d'Or, and Antoine Christophe Merlin, called "de Thionville" from the name of his native town, who had been an advocate of the Parliament of

Metz and was elected deputy by the department of the Moselle. This group was supported outside the Assembly by the clubs and the multitude, by Robespierre, who after leaving the former Assembly established his power in the Jacobins, by Danton and Camille Desmoulins in the Cordeliers, and by the brewer Santerre in the faubourgs, the chief centers of popular force. Among the rising popular leaders outside the Assembly should be mentioned Philippe François Fabre, born at Carcassonne in 1750, an actor and writer of dramas, who received the designation "d'Eglantine" in commemoration of a prize conferred by the academy of the floral games at Toulouse and was president and secretary of the Club of Cordeliers and member of the Jacobins. The extreme faction, although acting for a time as auxiliary of the Girondins, aspired to establish its own supremacy. On October 4th the text of the constitution was formally presented to the Assembly by the archivist Camus and a delegation of the twelve oldest deputies. The members received the constitution standing with bare heads and took a solemn oath of fidelity to it, swearing to live free or die. The radical democratic press, the *Revolutions de Paris* and the *Journal de Paris* denounced this ceremony as a form of idolatry since it implied that the document had a divine and eternal character, while the aristocratic sheets ridiculed it.

At the outset the attitude of the king and the new Assembly towards each other gave little promise of unity or mutual confidence. The court doubtless showed too little consideration for the susceptibility of a body of novices, sensitively jealous of the respect due them as the chief authority in the state. The Assembly sent a deputation of sixty of its members to the king to announce that it was constituted. But the king informed them through the minister of justice that he could not receive them before the next day at noon, thus wounding their pride. When they were admitted to the

royal presence, their spokesman said very tersely: "Sire, the National Legislative Assembly is definitely constituted; it has charged us to inform you." The king replied dryly: "I cannot go to see you before Friday."

The Assembly approved the coolness of the chief of its deputation. According to the established ceremonial, a chair in the form of a throne was to be placed in the hall of the Assembly for the royal visit and the sovereign was to be addressed as "Sire" and "Majesty," while the deputies were to receive the king standing and with bare heads and seat themselves or rise in deferential imitation of his movements. Some of the members found this etiquette unworthy of a sovereign body. It was proposed that a chair similar to that of the president of the Assembly should be used and that the terms "Sire" and "Majesty" should be omitted. "Sire" was represented as signifying "seigneur" and applying only to the feudal system, and "majesty" as only used properly in connection with the deity or the nation.

But there was a revulsion of feeling on the next day and these decisions were reversed and finally the king was received with the greatest respect and enthusiasm. In his address, the king discussed the matters which required the attention of the Assembly, the finances, civil laws, commerce, industry, and the consolidation of the new government. He promised to use his efforts to restore discipline in the army, to put the kingdom in a state of defense, and to inspire the Revolution with a character calculated to restore good relations between France and the rest of Europe.

"Gentlemen," he declared, "that your labors and zeal may produce all that is to be expected, constant harmony and confidence must prevail between the legislative body and the king. The enemies of our repose will try every means to separate us; but let patriotism and the public interest

The massacre in the Church of the Cordeliers, Avignon, October 16, 1791.
From the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

Pillage by the mob of the house of the Duc de Cartries, November 13, 1790.
From the sketch by Prieur, in the Louvre.

render us inseparable! Then the public power will be exercised without any obstruction, the administration will be free from vain terror, the property and faith of each will be protected equally, and no one will have an excuse for remaining away from a country where the laws are enforced and all rights are respected."

The new Assembly was soon involved in the difficulties left to it by its predecessor. One of the most serious of these, the problem of emigration, threatened to aggravate the relations between the legislative body and the king. On August 1st the Constituent Assembly had adopted a decree against emigration, but the general amnesty granted at the time of the acceptance of the constitution by the king had annulled its force. Emigration had made alarming progress and the attitude and activity of the émigrés was a constant source of preoccupation. The king's two brothers, the Comte d'Artois and the Comte de Provence, protested against the king's acceptance of the constitution, the only possible means of reconciling the Revolution and the monarchy. The relatives of the king declared that he could not legitimately alienate the ancient rights of the crown and their protest published throughout France made a deep impression, inciting the officers and nobility to leave the country in ever larger numbers. The departing royalists threatened the remaining nobles with degradation to the bourgeoisie when they should return victoriously.

The presence and hostile intentions of a few thousand French gentlemen almost without troops, money, or warlike equipment in the zone bordering France were far from constituting an immediate, serious military danger. But their intrigues with foreign powers destroyed all mutual confidence in the relations of France with her neighbors while the example of their open repudiation of the Revolution and all its works was a constant encouragement to resistance and revolt

within the country. The counter-revolution in France was being prepared under the protection of foreign courts. The diplomatic envoys of the émigrés, "la France exterieure," were usually received with every mark of esteem and favor while the regular ambassadors of the French court were sent back or treated coldly. Prussia and the other powers kept their forces along the French border on more or less of a war basis.

Agitation was at the same time increasing in France. The non-juring clergy were actively engaged in stimulating opposition to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The recalcitrant bishops forbade the celebration of the religious offices in churches used by the constitutional clergy and published instructions throughout the country, informing the laity that participation in the sacraments performed by the constitutional clergy was mortal sin, that marriage rites performed by them were invalid and would bring a curse upon the contracting parties and their offspring, and that municipal officers installing constitutional priests became apostates like the priests themselves.

The hostility of the two divisions of the clergy, as illustrated by these imprecations, caused endless confusion, bitterness, and trouble at the time when a strong, united effort was most needed to confirm the positive results obtained through the revolutionary movement. There were disturbances generally and especially in Calvados, Gevaudan, and Vendée, where the middle class was relatively less numerous and the lower classes were quite dependent on the clergy and the nobility.

In dealing with emigration the king undertook to anticipate action by the Assembly so as to avoid the appearance of sympathy with the émigrés and thus be able to prevent measures of excessive harshness against them. In letters addressed to the generals and commanders of the ports in

The Gardens of the Palais-Royal. From an engraving of the period by P. Huot after a sketch by Borel, in the French government collection of engravings.

October he exhorted the officers of the army and navy to return to their posts of duty.

But the uncompromising spirit of the Girondins demanded rigorous measures against the émigrés and the dissident priests.

Addressing the Assembly, Brissot distinguished three classes of émigrés: (1) the principal chiefs of the counter-revolutionary faction with the two brothers of the king at their head, (2) public functionaries who abandoned their posts and their country and tried to seduce their colleagues, and (3) private persons who from timidity or dislike of the Revolution left their country but without arming against it. Brissot urged very severe measures against the first two of these classes but a lenient attitude towards the third.

The Girondins were divided in their attitude towards the non-juring clergy who were causing trouble. Some advocated only a stricter surveillance, while others regarded banishment as the only effective means.

The moderates in the Assembly, while not denying the existence of danger in the situation, held that it was necessary above all to respect the constitution, avoiding extreme and arbitrary measures which they regarded as unconstitutional. The violation of the principles of the constitution, even in dealing with the enemies of the state, would bring about the undoing of the Revolution, just as the Old Régime had been destroyed through its injustices.

The Assembly as a whole was inclined to place the safety of the state above the strict observance of the law. A decree was passed by general consent on October 31st requiring the Comte de Provence, the elder brother of the king, to return to France within two months under penalty of forfeiture of his eventual right to the throne. The king sanctioned this decree. He wrote to the Comte de Provence on November 11th ordering him to return to court. But his brother wrote

on December 3d from Coblenz, excusing himself on the ground that the king was acting under constraint.

On November 9th the Assembly adopted a bill proposed by the legislative committee declaring all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers as under suspicion of conspiracy against their country and giving them until January 1, 1792, to return, failing which, they would be liable to capital punishment and the revenues of their estates would be collected for the benefit of the nation, but without prejudicing the rights of their wives, children, or legitimate creditors. But the king did not sanction the decree.

On November 29th the Assembly adopted stern measures against the refractory clergy in the form of a decrees commanding them to take the civic oath under penalty of losing their public salaries and undergoing suspicion of rebellion against the law and, in case of a second refusal, of being placed under strict surveillance. If religious disturbances occurred in their communes, they were to be transferred to the capital of the department and if they took part by preaching disobedience, they were liable to imprisonment.

On December 19th the king, acting with the advice of his ministers, the constitutionalist deputies, and the Directory of Paris, refused to sanction this decree against refractory priests. The Assembly made no protest, but public opinion in Paris was much aroused, especially in the sections of the Théâtre-Français, of Mauconseil, and of the Halle-au-Blé, and Camille Desmoulins denounced the treason of the Directory of Paris, accusing it of exceeding its function in giving advice to the king.

The democratic press of Paris launced an attack on the veto, called by the Revolutions de Paris a ball that the Assembly was condemned to drag behind it.

While the extreme democrats looked upon the king as the protector of the émigrés, refractory priests, and all enemies

Émigrés. From the painting by C. Coessin de la Fosse.

of the Revolution, and suspected him of secret intelligence with foreign sovereigns, his natural policy might have been to seek support in a close alliance with the moderate, constitutionalist wing of the Assembly. But the caprice, jealousies, and intrigues of the court were incompatible with the maintenance of a sound, consistent policy. Petty and personal motives created friction between the court and the leaders of the moderates. Thus the queen had conceived a violent personal antipathy for Lafayette. Perhaps his self-sufficient manner irritated her, and doubtless his sympathy for the revolutionary movement after having frequented the court as a wealthy young nobleman on terms of intimate friendship with her own circle seemed to her like treason.

The court helped to undermine the influence of the constitutionalist leaders whom it should have supported. Following the unfortunate example of self-abnegation of the retiring members of the Constituent Assembly, the more important public functionaries resigned. Thus on October 8th Lafayette gave up the command of the National Guard and soon after Bailly resigned as Mayor of Paris. The fact that all serious insurrections originated in the metropolis gave great importance to the character and political attitude of the Mayor of Paris. Through the possession of this office the constitutionalists had suppressed the seditious movement in the Champ-de-Mars. Now they proposed Lafayette as candidate for mayor, but the court threw all its influence in favor of Pétion, the rival candidate, and the latter was elected by a large majority on November 14th.

The Girondins proceeded to turn the embarrassing foreign situation to account for their own political advantage. They accused the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delessart, of compromising the honor and safety of the nation by the tone of his negotiations with foreign powers, his dilatoriness, and incapacity. They attacked the Minister of War, Du Portail,

and the Minister of the Marine, Bertrand de Molleville, for neglecting provision for the national defense.

The diplomatic committee of the Assembly proposed a resolution by this body declaring to the king that the nation would regard with satisfaction a demand on his part that the states bordering on France disperse the groups of French émigrés within three weeks, and at the same time the concentration on the frontier of the kingdom of sufficient forces to make the neighbors respect international law. The committee wished, moreover, to make the king declare the determined intentions of France to the diet of Ratisbon and the courts of Europe.

Isnard addressed the Assembly with fiery eloquence in favor of this proposal.

"Let us rise in these circumstances to the height of our mission," said he; "Let us speak to the ministers, to the king, to all Europe, with the firmness that becomes us. Let us tell our ministers that the nation has thus far not been very well satisfied with the conduct of each of them, that henceforth they must choose between public gratitude and the vengeance of the laws, and that by the word responsibility we mean death. Let us tell the king that his interest is to defend the constitution, that he reigns by the people and for the people only; that the nation is his sovereign and that he is subject to the law. Let us tell Europe that if the French people draw the sword they will throw away the scabbard and not seek it until it is crowned with the laurels of victory, and that, if the cabinets lead the kings into war against the peoples, we will engage the peoples in a life and death struggle against the kings. Tell it that all conflicts engaged in by the peoples by order of the despots. . . ." Interrupted at this point by an outburst of applause, he cried: "Do not applaud, do not applaud, respect my enthusiasm, it is that of liberty! Tell Europe, then, that all conflicts

engaged in by the peoples by order of the despots resemble blows exchanged by two friends in the dark when excited by a false instigator. When the light of day appears, they throw down their arms, embrace, and punish the deceiver. In like manner, if, at the moment when hostile armies fight with ours, the light of philosophy strikes their eyes, the peoples will embrace in the face of the dethroned tyrants, the consoled earth, and the joyous sun."

The proposal was adopted unanimously by the Assembly and was presented to the king on November 29th by a deputation with the following words of its spokesman, Vaublanc:

"Sire, no sooner had the Assembly directed its attention to the situation of the kingdom than it discovered that the troubles still agitating it arise from the criminal preparations of the French émigrés. Their audacity is supported by the German princes who disregard the treaties signed between themselves and France, and who assume the air of forgetting that they owe to this empire the Treaty of Westphalia which guarantees their rights and their safety. These hostile preparations, these threats of invasion, require armaments which absorb immense sums which the nation would gladly have poured into the hands of its creditors.

"It is for you, Sire, to make these preparations cease; it is for you to address these foreign powers in the language which is in keeping with the King of the French! Tell them that wherever hostile preparations are permitted against her France can see only enemies; that we will religiously keep our oath to make no conquests; that we offer them good, neighborly relations, the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful people; that we respect their laws, their usages, their constitutions; but that we wish ours also to be respected. Tell them finally that, if the German princes continue favoring preparations directed against the French, the French will bring among them, not fire and sword, but

liberty! Let them calculate the results of such an awakening of the nations."

The king replied that he would carefully consider the message of the Assembly and a few days later he appeared in person before the chamber to announce his decision. He declared amid great applause that he would inform the Elector of Trèves and the other electors that, unless before January 15th all hostile gatherings and preparations of the French émigrés ceased on their territories, he would regard them as enemies. He added that he would ask the emperor as chief of the empire to use his authority to prevent the evils that would result from obstinacy on the part of certain members of the Germanic body.

Military preparations were made to support the demands of the royal government. On December 6th the Minister of War, Du Portail, was replaced by the Comte de Narbonne, one of the Feuillants, young and eager for distinction, who went at once to the frontier. Three armies were formed and placed under the command of Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette. A decree of accusation was passed by the Assembly against the Comte de Provence, the Comte d'Artois, and the Prince de Condé for attempts and conspiracy against the general security of the state and the constitution. Their property was sequestrated and, when the time set for the return of the Comte de Provence had expired, his eventual right to the succession was declared forfeited. The agitation spreading throughout France in the autumn of 1791 found vent in many violent outbreaks and acts of atrocity, notably the terrible affair of the Glacière d'Avignon. The populace of Avignon, reduced to misery through the disturbed conditions, were driven to a furious outbreak on October 16th through the lawlessness of the revolutionary soldiery, the incitement of the local aristocracy, and the supposed occurrence of a miracle, a statue of the virgin in a church shedding

tears as though lamenting the annexation of the papal territory to France. The insurgents fell on the patriots and killed one of the revolutionary leaders. In retaliation, the commander, Jourdan, known as "Coupe-Tête," led the troops in fury against the populace, committing all manner of horrible atrocities in an indiscriminate massacre lasting three days. The victims, of both sexes and all ages, some of them still alive, were thrown into a deep ditch known as the "Glacière" and covered over with quicklime.

Marie Antoinette became convinced that a foreign war was the only means of saving the throne and the state and of preserving the royal family in safety. Her idea of the matter is somewhat vague. She dreamt at first of warfare on a very limited scale. The emperor, her brother, would concentrate his troops for a simple manifestation on the frontier, Louis XVI would place himself at the head of the French army and, after his brother-in-law had retired, would reënter Paris to receive the plaudits of a grateful people. But it was futile to expect that ties of blood or a feeling of monarchical solidarity would induce any of the rulers of Europe to devote their efforts and resources in this disinterested manner to restore the throne of France. Of all the European sovereigns, Leopold II, Emperor of Austria, brother of the Queen of France, seems to have been the least eager to defend his sister's interests or insure her safety. In fact, Gustavus III of Sweden, bound by no ties of kinship or alliance and comparatively remote from France, displayed the most zeal in her behalf.

As turmoil and bloodshed continued, in spite of the king's acceptance of the constitution, the queen looked to open warfare and foreign intervention to restore order. Louis XVI shrank from violent measures, but adopted the idea of friendly intervention of the powers. He hoped that the moral support of a congress of the principal sovereigns

backed by an armed force would suppress disorder and restore tranquillity in France. If this failed he would summon the friendly allies to rescue the monarchy and people from the forces of anarchy.

At the instigation of the queen, Louis XVI wrote the following letter on lines suggested by de Fersen to Frederick William on December 3d:

"To my brother, the King of Prussia.

"Sir, My brother; I have learned through M. du Moutier of the interest manifested by Your Majesty both for my person and the welfare of my kingdom. Your Majesty's inclination to give evidence of this interest whenever it could be useful for the good of my people has aroused in me a very lively sense of appreciation. I appeal to it with confidence in this moment when, despite my acceptance of the new constitution, the factious show openly their intention of destroying entirely the remains of the monarchy. I have just addressed the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Spain and Sweden, proposing to them the idea of a congress of the principal powers of Europe supported by an armed force as the best means of arresting the factious at the present stage, providing for the reëstablishment of a more desirable state of things, and preventing the spread of the evils from which we are now suffering to the other states of Europe.

"I hope that Your Majesty will approve my ideas and will maintain the strictest secrecy as to the step that I am taking in your regard. Your Majesty will readily perceive that the circumstances in which I am at present placed impose the greatest circumspection. Consequently, Baron de Breteuil is alone cognizant of my plans and Your Majesty may cause to be transmitted to him any communication that you wish. I take this occasion to thank Your Majesty for the kindness that you have shown Sieur Heymann and I have a true

satisfaction in giving Your Majesty the assurance of my esteem and affection with which I am, Sir and Brother, Your Majesty's good brother.

"Louis."

At the same time the queen appealed to her brother and to Catherine II.

Frederick William replied that he wished to render service to Louis XVI and that he would confer with the Emperor Leopold, but that, inasmuch as his intervention would involve much expense, he could not commit himself without the promise of an indemnity. In reality, as we have observed, he wanted a recompense in French territory and it was probably only under pressure of the kings of Spain and Sweden and the emperor and at the solicitations of Breteuil that he agreed in principle to accept pecuniary indemnification. Far from touching a chivalrous spirit in the King of Prussia, the request of Louis XVI had the effect of an official admission of the weakness of France and served to whet the greed of her most ambitious neighbor.

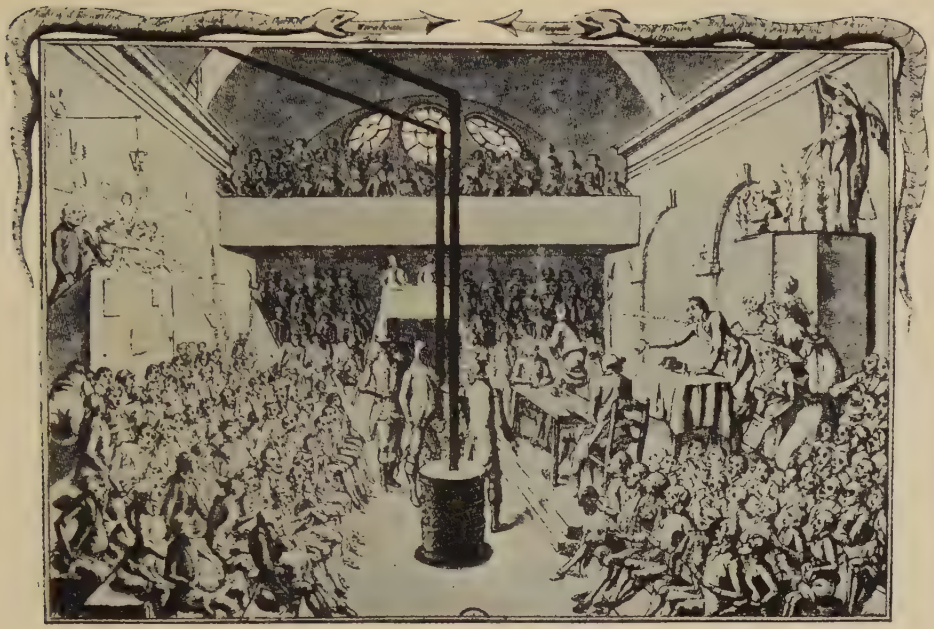
The emperor, concerned at this time with the affairs of Poland, excused himself on the ground that Louis XVI had declared himself to be free from all constraint. In fact all hope of intervention vanished unless the rulers of Europe could be convinced of the dangerously contagious nature of the revolutionary movement, which at the time seemed unlikely or remote, or France assumed an openly aggressive attitude.

Hence the court took up the idea of provoking intervention by starting a petty war with the electors of the Rhine who harbored the émigrés. Doubtless with this possibility in view, the king appeared in the Assembly on December 24th to announce his intention of summoning the Elector of Trèves to disperse the émigrés before January 15th. A refusal on the part of the elector would naturally lead to war.

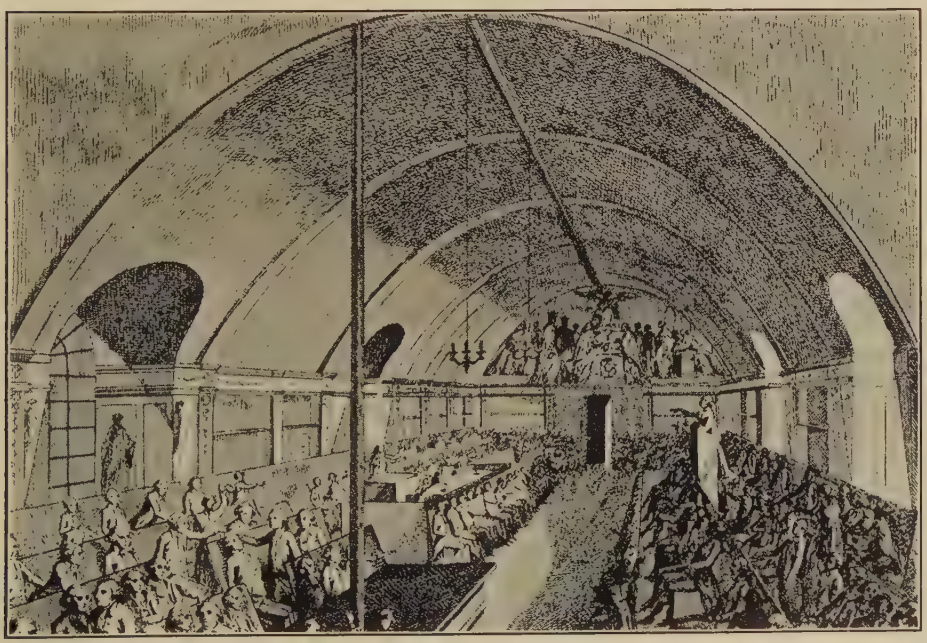
The king, seemingly blind to the avarice of Prussia, thought only of the restoration of the royal power and the suppression of disorder and therefore contemplated with satisfaction the supposed military weakness of France. He wrote to Breteuil: "The physical and moral state of France is such that it would be impossible for it to maintain a half campaign. . . . My conduct must be such that the nation in its misfortune sees no other recourse than to throw itself into my arms."

The court was not alone in its desire for war. The new Minister of War, Comte de Narbonne, supported by his friend, Madame de Stael, and by Lafayette, wanted a petty war which would serve as motive for the restoration of the army as an effective instrument for the support of the royal authority. Narbonne, eager to play a prominent rôle as upholder of the monarchy, intended that through a strong army the Assembly should be dissolved and replaced by one consisting of landed proprietors. He proposed to induce the Duke of Brunswick, formerly a lieutenant of Frederick the Great and regarded as the greatest general of Germany, to become commander-in-chief of the French army, trusting that the duke's reputation for liberalism and his relations with the philosophers would reconcile the patriots. Without the knowledge of the king, Narbonne sent General Custine to interview the Duke of Brunswick but the latter refused to entertain his proposal. Narbonne also sent the Duc de Ségur to Berlin to try to keep Frederick William from joining with Leopold in the expected event that the latter should be drawn into war with France in behalf of the Rhenish electors or the Alsatian princes.

For very different reasons the party of Brissot concurred in the desire for hostilities and was in fact not unfavorable to a general war. Peace threatened to undermine the ascendency of the revolutionary party. The substantial



Satirical print representing a meeting of the Jacobin Club on the Declaration of War in 1792. Dumouriez, Minister of War, being represented by the figure with the pigeon's head. The fall of Mirabeau and Lafayette from popularity is shown by their being represented above as tongues of snakes. The original print is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.



A meeting of the Friends of the Constitution, commonly called the Jacobin Club because the meetings were held in the refectory of the Dominican friars who were known as the Jacobins. From an engraving by Aubry after Vangorp.

elements of society, which had followed the revolutionary leaders when they summoned them to the campaign against the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy, fell away when the movement turned against their own interests. The peaceful and sober-minded became disgusted with anarchy and disorder and rejected the leadership of those who seemed to connive at lawlessness or encouraged it. But the Girondins expected that a conflict with foreign sovereigns, while inflaming the patriotic zeal of the nation, would establish the authority of the radical party and demask the king, who would be deposed if he did not obey the national will.

Many of the impractical theorists and enthusiasts who made up the Girondin group were eager to launch a crusade for the overthrow of despotism and the propagation of the Revolution by force. These fiery orators of the south, steeped in classical literature and eloquence, assailed kings and aristocrats and appealed to the French as friends of liberty and the natural enemies of despots.

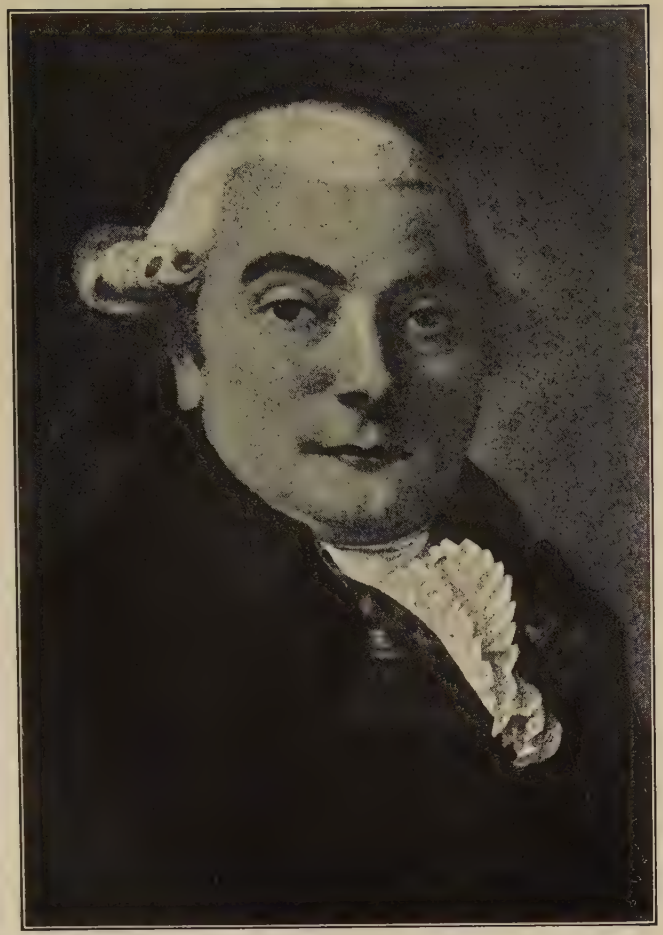
But the idea of war was also opposed by the most diverse elements. Part of the ministry, the constitutionalist chiefs, Barnave, Duport, and de Lameth, wanted peace and the maintenance of the alliance with Austria. On the other hand, some of the extreme Jacobins, especially Robespierre and Danton opposed war, fearing that it would give the king too much power, destroy popular interest in the democratic movement at home, and thwart their own ambitious schemes.

The conflict over war and peace was opened in the Jacobin Club on December 16th. Brissot approved the step of the king in requiring the Elector of Trèves to disperse the émigrés and supported Narbonne's warlike attitude. But Robespierre stoutly resisted, urging prudent considerations, the state of the resources and situation of the country. War, he pointed out, would be conducted by the court, which

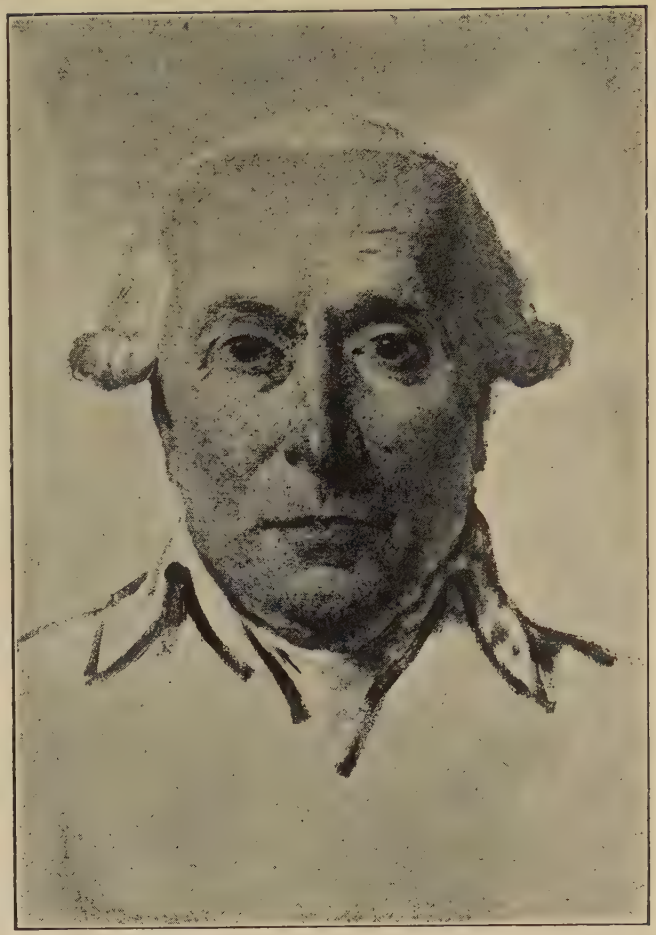
would betray the nation. It would block all reforms, ruin the finances of the country, concentrate power in the hands of one man, and destroy liberty. Brissot was for overthrowing royalty if it betrayed the nation and favored a declaration of war as a chance for royalty to betray itself. He insisted that able generals would quickly appear to command the armies. Robespierre asked how Brissot could associate himself with the court and constitutionalists in desiring war.

The Assembly learned on December 31st that the emperor had instructed Marshal Bender to defend the Elector of Trèves in case the latter were attacked and made this a pretext for bringing accusation against the royal princes and Calonne and Mirabeau-Tonneau who was at the head of the army of émigrés in the region of the Rhine. But news came on January 6th that the Elector of Trèves, following the advice of the emperor, had promised to disperse the émigrés. Down to the end of January, 1792, the intentions of Austria were pacific. She needed to have her resources available in the east in case of the partition of Poland, which was imminent, to offset the pretensions of Russia.

The settlement of the Trèves affair removed the only immediate excuse for war and thwarted the designs of the court as well as those of the extremists. But Narbonne, returning from the frontier, declared on January 11th that all was in readiness for war and this emboldened the reckless spirits in the Assembly. The Girondins insisted that France should anticipate the alleged hostile designs of the court of Vienna and give the emperor no further time to prepare. They were determined to force an issue and on January 14th the diplomatic committee reported that it was necessary to demand of Leopold an explanation of his orders to Marshal Bender and a clear statement, before February 11th, of his veritable attitude towards France, whether he proposed to



General Charles François Duperrier Dumouriez. From the painting by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, exhibited at the Exhibition of National Portraits, Paris, 1878.



Jean Sylvain Bailly. From the painting by J. L. David, in the Louvre, Paris.

remain loyal to the treaty of alliance of 1756, and to declare that a failure to reply favorably to these inquiries would be regarded as a state of hostility.

This bellicose policy was supported by the fulminating oratory of the Girondins. "The state in which we now are," declared Vergniaud at the end of a violent harangue, "is a veritable state of destruction which may lead us to disgrace and death. To arms, then, to arms! Citizens, free men, defend your liberty, assure the hope of the freedom of the human race. . . . Do not lose the advantage of your situation; strike when all portends success. . . . The shades of all past generations seem to crowd this temple to implore you in the name of all the evils that servitude has made them suffer to preserve from it the future generations whose destinies are in your hands. Hear their prayer and become a new Providence for the future; associate yourselves with eternal justice."

On the 25th the decree was passed that the king should be invited to ask the emperor whether, as head of the House of Austria, he intended to live in peace and good understanding with the French nation and whether he disclaimed every kind of treaty or agreement directed against the sovereignty, independence, or safety of the French nation, and that in case the emperor failed to give "to the nation before March first full and entire satisfaction on all these points, his silence, as well as any evasive or dilatory reply, would be regarded as a declaration of war."

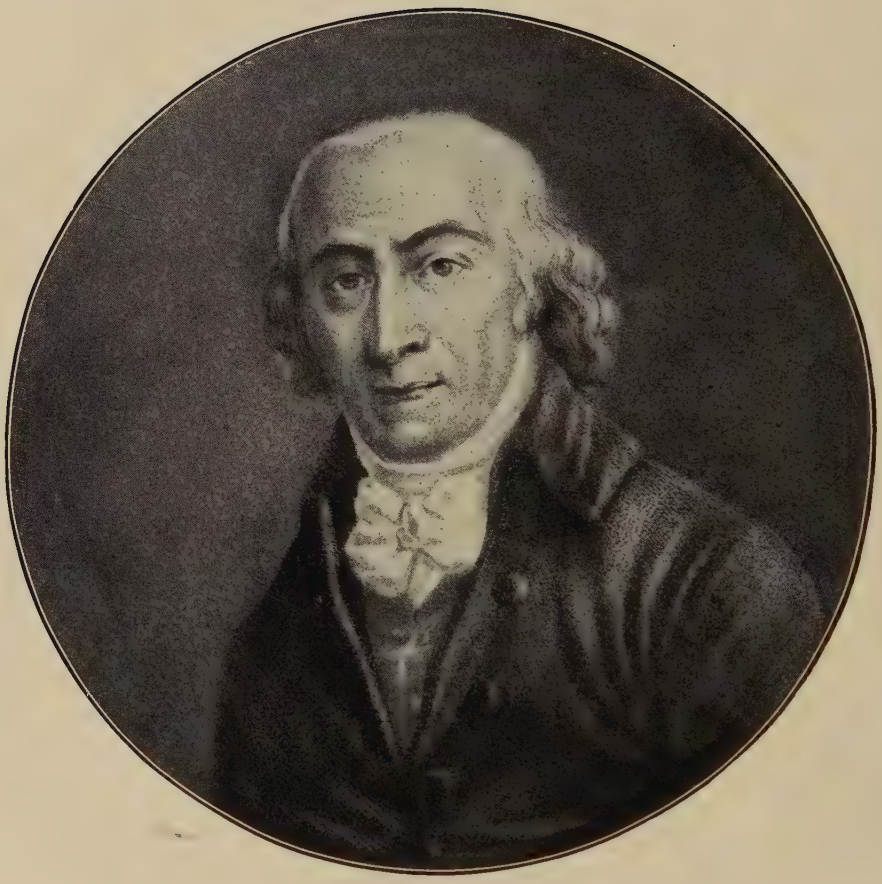
This threatening decree, which brought the nation to the verge of war, was vigorously attacked by Robespierre at the Jacobin Club. He warned his hearers that standing armies and conquering generals are a menace to liberty. "Would not armed bodies lose some of the fervor of 1789?" —he asked. Discipline, the habit of passive submission with which an astute policy associates the idea of honor,

would dispose them to blind enthusiasm for their fortunate chief.

The followers of Brissot were leaving no means untried to destroy the power of the moderate Feuillants who were opposed to the idea of war. The Club of the Feuillants held its meetings in a narrow corridor which led to the hall of the Legislative Assembly. On the assertion of Merlin de Thionville that he had been assaulted in this passage which should be free to all the deputies, the Assembly on December 27th forbade any club to hold its meetings within the legislative precincts and thus deprived the Feuillants of their quasi-official character and compelled them to seek a meeting place elsewhere.

In the contest between these two parties the Feuillants were supported in general by the nobility and the upper middle class, the commercial and industrial aristocracy, while the Brissotins numbered among their followers the Jacobins and the popular societies and appealed to the poorer sections of Paris and the faubourgs. They cherished the ideal of an alliance of the bourgeoisie and people against the former privileged orders to form an undivided front of 25,000,000 Frenchmen, united in liberty, and therefore invincible, in the face of the powers of Europe. To strengthen the force of their adherents, they advocated the arming of the passive citizens who were excluded by law from the primary voting assemblies and the National Guard.

An electoral assembly of the neighborhood of Nôtre Dame which had returned Brissot to the Assembly and had continued to hold sessions as a political club took the lead in the fateful movement for the arming of the populace. On January 31st this club collected 150 livres for the purpose and appealed to the sections of Paris for contributions. The sections generally responded to this invitation, pikes appeared throughout the city, warlike sentiment rose higher,



Jean Marie Roland de la Platière. From the engraving by Levachez.

and the popularity of the Girondins increased. Pikes and red woollen caps became the distinctive marks of revolutionary zeal.

The Girondin leaders were playing a dangerous game. Carried away by ambition or infatuation for their impractical theories they enlisted the passions of the populace against the court, the Feuillants, and foreign powers. Yet a social upheaval was far from their thought. They had no real sympathy with the multitude whom they were arming and marshalling for combat. Their policy was a reckless one. Even the Jacobins became alarmed at the appearance of so many armed men in Paris.

A food crisis was added to the other causes of disturbance. The harvest of 1791 had been insufficient in the center and the south of France, and the large proprietors and farmers were hoarding their grain. The city of Paris had kept the price of provisions at nearly normal figures by considerable purchases of grain at Danzig and Riga and in England, but in other places of France there had been a marked increase since the close of December, resulting in disturbances and the pillaging of food stores. The people demanded an official limitation of the prices of meat, bread, and sugar. The agitation, accompanied by a panic as in 1789, became general and reached the faubourgs of Paris. The prevailing lawlessness threw the country into a state of financial anarchy. Taxes were not paid and in many places the lists of tax-payers were not even made up. A total of assignats representing 1,600,000,000 livres had already been issued and yet the treasury was empty. A further issue of assignats seemed to be the only means of providing for the necessities of the government, yet this would result in a further depreciation in the value of the circulation and a corresponding increase in prices. The ministry, embarrassed as it was by its own internal discords, the increasing administrative difficulties, and

the rising tide of disorder and anarchy, was assailed with ever greater violence by the Girondins.

In the meantime, the threatening attitude of France hastened an understanding between the rulers of Austria and Prussia who concluded an alliance on February 7th for the expressed purpose of maintaining the Germanic constitution. Reassured as to the attitude of Catherine of Russia in respect to Poland, they felt free to turn their attention to the west. In these circumstances the emperor made his reply through the Prince of Kaunitz to the French demands on February 19th. He expressed his surprise at the tone of the French note, declaring the imputation of designs on his part against the sovereignty, independence, and safety of France by agreements or alliances tending to interfere in the government or to overthrow the constitution to be a calumny. He insisted that he had not swerved from the conduct becoming an ally, a friend, and a neighbor. Kaunitz denounced publicly the provocations of the Jacobins as enemies of the king and of the fundamental principles of the constitution and as disturbers of peace and of public repose. The reply of the emperor delayed the designs of the extremists.

But the ministry was tottering towards its fall. The effect of the provision of the constitution excluding members of the Assembly from the ministry together with the self-denying decree of the Constituent Assembly rendering its members ineligible to the new legislative body had been unfavorable to the moderate party. The first curtailed the strength of the moderate ministry and the second weakened the moderate element in the Assembly while leaving the extremists in control of the Jacobin Club, where, in the circumstances, policy was really formed. The basis was lacking for a firm, consistent administration.

On March 9th the pacific members of the ministry obtained the dismissal of Narbonne and the appointment of

Colonel Comte de Grave in his place as Minister of War. On the next day the Left secured the passage of a resolution declaring that the departing minister carried with him the regret of the Assembly. The Girondins regarded the unfavorable attitude of Delessart, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as the chief obstacle in the way to the realization of their policy. In an address of melodramatic intensity, Brissot denounced the plots formed against France abroad and provoked the frenzied applause of the crowd present in the galleries when he demanded that the Assembly should bring accusation against Delessart, whose feebleness in negotiation, as shown by the correspondence with Vienna, was evidence of treason. The military committee had already urged that the Assembly should declare that Molleville, Minister of the Marine, had lost the confidence of the nation. The Left concentrated its efforts for the supreme attack on the ministry. Vergniaud advanced to the tribune and launched forth with fiery eloquence in his most celebrated oration. From this very tribune, he cried, could be seen the palace, where the king was being led astray by perfidious advice. "Terror and dismay have often gone forth from this palace. Let them now reënter it in the name of the law. Let all who live there know that the king alone is inviolable, that the law reaches all the guilty without distinction, and that not one head convicted of crime can escape its sword." The Left and the public acclaimed the words of the orator, the Center yielded to the vigor of the attack, and the Assembly decreed that Delessart should be accused before the National High Court of having neglected and betrayed his duty, and compromised the independence, dignity, and safety of the French nation. Delessart was arrested and taken to Orleans for trial. His fall involved the overthrow of the ministry. Within a week all the ministers, except de Grave, who passed as a "good Jacobin," had resigned.

CHAPTER IX

The Brissotin Ministry

The choice of the ministers; Dumouriez, Baron de la Coste, Roland and Madame Roland, Clavière, Duranton. The influence of Madame Roland. Colonel Servan. The accession of Francis II in Austria; his uncompromising attitude. Declaration of war by France, April 20, 1792. The serious military situation of the country. The struggle between the Revolution and the absolute monarchies probably inevitable. Celebration in honor of the Swiss soldiers of Châteauvieux released from the galleys. Théroigne de Méricourt. The advance and the panic of the French on the Belgian frontier. The determination of the Left to undermine the royal authority. The three critical decrees. Refusal of the king to sanction the decrees on the refractory priests and the camp before Paris. Roland's letter to the king and the dismissal of the ministers.

When his ministers had been driven from office, the king took the bold step of calling their radical opponents to power. He wished to leave no ground of complaint to his enemies and he may have hoped that the assumption of responsibility would modify the attitude of the extremists. If the experiment failed, the king would at least have shown the impossibility of governing under the constitution as it was. The casual agreement of the court party and the Brissotins in their common desire for war partly obscured the fundamental contrast of their ideas. The Brissotin deputies were of course excluded from the ministry by the constitution. For three days at the home of Vergniaud, 5 Place Vendôme, amid feverish discussions, lists of ministers were repeatedly drawn up only to be discarded. But through Brissot, who exercised the dominating influence in these debates, Charles François Duperrier Dumouriez was summoned to the ministry.

The declaration of war between France and Austria, April 20, 1792. From the painting by François Lafon, exhibited at the Salon, Paris

Dumouriez appeared to be the man of energy and ability needed as the directing member. Grandson of a valet of Molière, a clever adventurer, who had given evidence of enterprise and resourcefulness in the army and in certain secret diplomatic missions under Louis XVI, Dumouriez was indefatigable, audacious, calculating, prompt to act, and free from the limitations of pride or prejudice. He was essentially an opportunist, without political faith or dogma, who regarded the Revolution coolly as a unique chance for winning prosperity and distinction. He had observed without surprise the eclipse of the monarchists and the Feuillants, whom he regarded as simpletons, bound by their convictions. He was fifty-three years of age when he received the portfolio of foreign affairs. A small man of lively manners, penetrating eye, and nervous physique, he was affable, but firm, and refined in his tastes. His real aim was to establish himself firmly and stop the Revolution. On March 19th he appeared before the Jacobins in the red bonnet of the Revolution, assured them of his revolutionary zeal, and received their approbation and applause. He persuaded the king to retain de Grave in the ministry of war and to appoint the Baron de Lacoste to the ministry of marine. Jean, Baron de Lacoste, born at Dax in 1730, had already held an important office in the ministry of the marine before the Revolution. These three "pseudo-Jacobins" soon formed a group apart. The other members of the ministry were close followers of Brissot and Vergniaud. The most notable of them was Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière, whose experience and character destined him for the portfolio of the interior.

He was born at Thizy on February 18, 1734, the fifth child of a royal councillor of the bailliage of Villefranche-en-Beaujolais. Later he became ordinary inspector of manufactures of Picardy and journeyed much abroad on industrial

and scientific missions. He was by nature prosaic, patient, incorruptibly honest, puritanical in his dress, habits, and opinions. He was later called Cato for the integrity and austerity of which he made a rather ostentatious display. Notwithstanding these estimable qualities, Roland left to himself would never have emerged from obscurity; his wife was the sole decisive factor in creating his career. On February 4, 1780, he married Manon Jeanne Phlipon, then twenty-five years of age, who later exercised more influence than almost any of the public men of the time on the destiny of France in 1792 and 1793. Pretty Manon Jeanne—Manon, as she was called by the intimate friends of herself and husband—was a strange mixture of envy and enthusiasm, Spartan virtue and romantic passion, ardent generosity and calculating egotism. She is one of the most fascinating human elements in the revolutionary drama. When, in the early months of their married life, she used to prepare the meals of her "Cato," while reading Shakespeare and Plutarch, her imagination was fired with lofty aspirations for her husband's future and for power and social distinction for herself.

She secured for him appointment as inspector general of manufactures for the généralité of Lyons in 1784. Roland was author of a number of works on economic subjects, including the *Dictionnaire des Manufactures*, two volumes of text and one of plates, for the *Encyclopédie Methodique*. He was a contributor to the great *Encyclopædia*. He was elected a notable of the council of Lyons in 1790. He spent seven months in Paris, February 20 to September 3, 1791, as delegate sent by Lyons to obtain of the Assembly the nationalization of its municipal debt which had been largely incurred for national purposes, and became a very assiduous member of the Jacobin Club. Madame Roland became the soul of a small group, Brissot, Pétion, Buzot, and Robespierre,

who met regularly four evenings in the week in her salon.

Impelled by the ambition of his wife, Roland returned to Paris December 15, 1791.

He was sixty years of age when he entered the ministry. His wife, at thirty-eight, retained her attractive appearance and personal charm. She felt herself called to become a heroine in the manner of Greece and Rome.

Étienne Clavière was made minister of finances. Born in Geneva, January 27, 1735, of a Calvinist family originally from France, he was compelled to leave his native town after the aristocratic revolution there in 1782. He engaged in successful financial speculations in Paris, was regarded as honest, opposed Necker, his fellow-townsman, became assistant of Mirabeau in economic matters and one of the editors of a monthly review, *La Chronique du Mois*. Antoine Duranton, born at Mussidan in the region of Dordogne, in 1736, became minister of justice.

In his communication to the Assembly concerning the new ministry, Louis XVI wrote:

"I had chosen for first ministers men known for their principles and invested with the confidence of the public. They have left the ministry; I have therefore thought it my duty to replace them with men who have obtained credit for their popular opinions. You have often told me that this was the only method of making the government work; I have thought it my duty to employ it so as to leave to malevolence no pretext for doubting my desire to coöperate with all my might in the welfare of my country."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the new ministers and the party which they represented were not really in close touch and sympathy with the masses. They were middle class visionaries of the literary or professional world, adorers of Rousseau, makers of pompous phrases about liberty and

the sovereignty of the people. Most of them were inspired by personal ambition or enthusiasm for abstract principles.

The enthusiasms, prejudices, and hatreds of Madame Roland tended to become the chief influences determining public policy. Unfortunately, despite her intellectual brilliancy and intuitive cleverness, Madame Roland was usually not an accurate judge of men; her opinions were colored by her romantic sentiment and subjective preconceptions.

The members of the new ministry adopted the custom of lunching together privately at their respective abodes in turn, so as to agree on general questions of policy before meeting formally as the Royal Council. The leaders of the Left were invited to these luncheons, where Madame Roland soon made her appearance and became the center of interest, the chief source of inspiration, and the real minister of the interior. The presence of this passionate, magnetic personality stimulated the vigor of the ministry. Buzot, who cherished an ardent but platonic devotion for Madame Roland, became the most active and docile agent in the execution of her ideas. The formation of the Girondin ministry had scarcely been completed on March 23d when its members showed an inclination to abandon the republican movement. They had attained to the ministry, which seemed to them sufficient progress for the time. Madame Roland declared that if "Antoinette" gave up perverting her foolish husband, they could adjourn the greater reforms. But the ministers were determined to clear the government and administration of aristocratic elements, to clean the "Augean stables." Dumouriez proceeded to purify the diplomatic service and the Rolands secured, in place of de Grave, the appointment of Colonel Servan as minister of war. Joseph Servan de Gerbey, born at Romans in 1741, had contributed articles on military subjects to the *Encyclopædia*. He had established the sincerity of his revolutionary

principles, to the satisfaction of Madame Roland, by the publication before the war of a work called the *Citizen Soldier*. He had recently become colonel. Servan made such sweeping changes in the staff of the army that in six months even Madame Roland found the Cordeliers too numerous in it.

The accession of the Brissotins to power made war almost inevitable. War was one of the essential articles of the ministerial program. On March 10th news had reached Paris of the sudden death of the Emperor Leopold, which occurred on March 1st, and of the succession to the Austrian possessions of his son, Francis II, a warlike prince, ardently reactionary in his opinions. The new ruler immediately sent an envoy to the King of Prussia to confirm the alliance concluded by Leopold on February 7th and declared himself ready to support the cause of the feudal princes of Alsace.

The French court secretly sent Goguelat to Vienna and Comte Caraman to Berlin to ask aid for the royal family of France. The plan of campaign submitted to the Royal Council by Dumouriez in anticipation of hostilities was divulged by the queen to Mercy-Argenteau, who promptly communicated it to Kaunitz, chief minister of Francis II, in the following note:

"This is what the queen has just transmitted to me in cipher of March 26th: M. Dumouriez, no longer doubting the accord of the powers in view of the movement of troops, has the plan of beginning first by an attack in Savoy and another through the territory of Liège. The army of M. de Lafayette is to be used for this latter attack. This is the result of the council of yesterday. It is well to know this plan so as to be on one's guard. According to appearances this will be carried out promptly."

On March 27th Dumouriez addressed a very peremptory note to Vienna, and, expecting a rejection of the French

demands, sent an envoy into Belgium to incite an eventual rebellion against the House of Austria.

Francis II, assured of the support of Prussia, replied very haughtily to the French note. He rejected the French proposals and demanded the complete reëstablishment of the Alsacian princes in their former feudal rights and the restitution of the former papal cantons of the Rhône valley to the Holy See. Dumouriez, contrary to all diplomatic precedent, read the entire correspondence to the Assembly. It only required the semblance of a threat on the part of the "despots" to provoke a tempest of indignation throughout the length and breadth of France.

But the most warlike leaders hesitated to have France take the initiative in declaring war, knowing that the Court of Vienna would be glad to see the French assume the rôle of aggressors. Far greater would have been their reluctance if they had known, what a few suspected, that the king and queen were betraying France by disavowing the official diplomacy of the French government through a secret agent at Vienna, by revealing the plans of campaign formed by the council of ministers, and by inviting Europe to come in arms to their assistance. Nevertheless, on the report of Dumouriez, the ministry reached the momentous decision, April 18th, that the king should appear in the Legislative Assembly two days later and propose the delaration of war.

The Assembly convened on April 20th in a state of suppressed excitement. The king appeared at noon seemingly dazed by the solemnity of the moment. Although his vacillating judgment may have sanctioned at times the idea of a hostile demonstration, the ardor of the people and the awful significance of the pending step must have filled him with distress and repugnance. He must have regarded the war as the result mainly of the intrigues of the two extreme factions whom he detested, the émigrés and the Jacobins.

He submitted the text of Dumouriez' report urging the necessity of war against the "King of Hungary and of Bohemia" (Francis II had not yet been crowned emperor), asked in a few words that the Assembly vote the declaration of hostilities, and left the hall in the midst of a respectful silence.

The Brissotin deputy Mailhe demanded that the Assembly should dispense with the preliminary consideration of the proposal by a committee and debate it immediately. Mathieu Dumas, trying to speak in opposition to this, was cried down. Pastoret of the Center demanded war, declaring that victory would be faithful to liberty. Voices on the Right asking time for reflection were drowned in indignant expostulations. "The people wishes war," cried Mailhe, "lose no time in yielding to its just and generous impatience. You may be decreeing the liberty of the whole world. I demand that the Assembly should not separate before it has decreed war." The decree was submitted to the Assembly and the debate closed. Just as the vote was about to be taken, Merlin de Thionville rushed to the tribune and cried: "What I wished to say is that we must declare war against kings and peace towards the peoples." In a frenzy of enthusiasm the Assembly adopted the proposal of war with only seven dissenting votes.

"So much the better," cried Marie Antoinette, exasperated by the humiliations of the crown. She had dreamed of a demonstration of the great powers that would intimidate revolutionary France and bring it to the feet of the king. Carried away by the violence of her resentment, she now hoped for a crushing defeat of the French forces. She revealed to the Austrian court the negotiations undertaken by Dumouriez to obtain the friendship or support of different powers, which had failed.

The declaration of war by revolutionary France against the head of the House of Austria inaugurated a period of

almost unbroken hostilities lasting twenty-three years and eventually involving nearly all the states of Europe and ranks as one of the most momentous events of all history. The report of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs urging the declaration of war is therefore a document of the greatest importance. But its author seems to feel constrained to make the most of every palpable argument in support of his contention. He begins with a general denunciation of the malignity of the House of Austria and the natural hatred of despots for liberty.

"Sire, when you swore to support the constitution which assured your crown and when your heart was sincerely united with the will of a great, free and sovereign nation, you became the object of hatred of the enemies of liberty. Arrogance and tyranny agitated all the courts; no natural bond or treaty could restrain their injustice. Your former allies removed you from the rank of despots, but the French have lifted you to the glorious and substantial dignity of supreme chief of a regenerated nation. Your duties are indicated by the law which you have accepted and you will fulfil them all. The French nation is calumniated; its sovereignty is disregarded; rebellious émigrés find an asylum among our neighbors; they concentrate on our frontiers; they openly threaten to invade their own country and to carry into it fire and sword. Their rage would be powerless, or it would perhaps already have given place to repentance, had they not found the support of a power which has broken all its bonds with us since it saw that our regeneration would change the form of our alliance with it, making the partnership more equitable.

"Since 1756 Austria had abused the treaty of alliance, to the terms of which France had been only too faithful. Since that time this treaty had exhausted our blood and our resources in unjust wars aroused by ambition, which ended in

From a painting in the Musée Carnavalet.
Attributed to Vestier.

As a citoyenne.
From a portrait in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

When insane in La Salpêtrière in 1816.
After a drawing by Gabriel.

Théroigne de Méricourt, daughter of a peasant, courtesan, virtuoso, and friend of many of the leaders of the Revolution, who imbibed their doctrines and whose enthusiastic nature and vigorous eloquence excited the mobs to violent excesses. For a few years she lived lavishly, held a political salon, but later, inclining to more moderate views, her popularity lessened to such an extent that she was stripped naked and beaten by a crowd of Jacobin women. Later, she became insane and was confined in La Salpêtrière, where she died in 1817.

treaties dictated by a crafty, insincere policy that always left material for new wars. Since this fatal date of 1756 France had debased herself to the point of playing a subordinate part in the bloody tragedies of despotism, in which she has been in subjection to the always uneasy, ever active ambition of the House of Austria, for which she has sacrificed her natural alliances.

"Since the House of Austria has seen in our constitution that France could no longer be the servile instrument of her ambition, she has sworn the destruction of this work of reason; she has forgotten all the services that France had rendered her; in short, no longer able to dominate the French nation, she has become its implacable enemy.

"The death of Joseph II seemed to give promise of greater tranquillity under his successor Leopold, who, having admitted philosophy into the administration of Tuscany, could be expected to devote himself solely to repairing the calamities that the inordinate ambition of his predecessor had brought on his states. But Leopold had no sooner appeared on the imperial throne than he tried unceasingly to incite all the powers of Europe against us. He it is who traced in the conferences of Padua, Reichenbach, The Hague, and Pillnitz the most deadly schemes against us, projects, which he has sought to justify by the disgraceful pretext of a simulated compassion for Your Majesty, while you were declaring to the whole world that you were free and that you had frankly accepted the constitution and would uphold it with all your power.

"Then this prince, calumniating the nation of which you are the hereditary representative and slandering you by pretending not to believe in your liberty or the sincerity of your intentions, used every device of a dark and wily policy to increase the number of the enemies of France under pretexts the least calculated to justify such a threatening league.

It is this Leopold, who, allied for a long time with Russia to share the spoils of Poland and Turkey, had drawn away from his alliance with us that king of the North, whose restless activity could only be stopped by death, at the moment when he was to become the instrument of the fury of the House of Austria.

"It is Leopold who incited against France the successor of the immortal Frederick, against whom from fidelity to imprudent treaties we had defended the House of Austria for nearly forty years. It is Leopold who has declared himself the chief of a league, the purpose of which is the overthrow of our constitution. He it is who, in official documents which Europe will judge, has invited one portion of the French nation to arm against the other, attempting thus to bring upon France the horrors of civil war in addition to the calamities of the foreign conflict."

As proof of Leopold's hostility and duplicity, Dumouriez cited the official note of Kaunitz of February 18th, the last communication in the negotiations between the late emperor and Louis XVI, declaring that it merited close examination as a virtual declaration of war. In it Kaunitz had stated that a clearer indication of pacific intentions had never been given them in the emperor's attitude in the affair of the concentrations of French émigrés in the district of Trèves. It is true, admits the French minister, that at that time the Court of Vienna had expelled émigrés under arms from the Low Countries, fearing that the French would enter the Belgian provinces, where, nevertheless there was still a staff of French officers in uniform wearing the white cockade and bands of French deserters with full equipment were received daily. At the same time, he claimed, at the unlawful request of the Bishop of Bâle, the Court of Vienna had established a garrison in the district of Porrentruy, as a doorway into the department of Doubs, in violation of the

treaties which placed this territory under the joint guarantee of Bâle and of France.

At the same time the Court of Vienna increased considerably the garrisons in Breisgau and gave orders to Marshal Bender to intervene in the Electorate of Trèves in case the French entered it to disperse the émigrés. According to Dumouriez, the emperor's intention of dispersing the émigrés was only simulated. They assembled again at Coblenz in even greater number.

Kaunitz charged the Jacobins with responsibility for the misunderstanding and suspicion existing between the two powers claiming that the concentration of the émigrés in Trèves had only served them as a pretext for inciting hostile feeling and that they were then trying to create motives for war by the demands for explanations addressed to the emperor, which made it "difficult for this prince in his replies to conciliate the pacific and friendly intentions which animated him with his feeling of wounded dignity and the danger to his repose from the results of their intrigues."

In thus ascribing to a club the demands made by the French nation as a whole, Dumouriez saw a deliberate attempt on the part of the emperor and his minister to represent France as the prey of factions which made it impossible to carry on regular negotiations with her.

Apparently the death of Leopold had brought no change in the hostile attitude of the Court of Vienna. The King of Hungary and of Bohemia, when asked to make an unequivocal statement that would dispel the cloud of uncertainty existing between the two powers and insure the tranquillity of Europe, communicated his intentions in a final note of Kaunitz which was virtually an ultimatum. Its opening words: "The French government having demanded categorical explanations . . . . "—were interpreted by the French Foreign Minister as deliberately chosen to

insinuate that Louis XVI was not free, that negotiations were carried on without him, and that he had no interest in them.

The statement made in the Austrian note that no measures had been adopted or armaments prepared in the Austrian territories that could be qualified as preparations for war was disproved, according to Dumouriez, by the evidence of facts, the concert of the powers against France, the concentration of armies, the erection of fortresses, the laying out of camps, and the designation of generals in command.

On the other hand, the hostile purpose of the understanding between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin was clearly revealed in the words of Kaunitz:

"As to the concert concluded by His late Imperial Majesty with the most respectable powers of Europe, the King of Hungary and of Bohemia cannot anticipate their opinions and their common resolutions; but he does not believe that they will consider it expedient or possible to dissolve this concert before France puts an end to the serious motives which have induced or necessitated its formation."

In other words, this hostile league would continue until France was ready to submit her constitution to the judgment and revision of the King of Hungary and of Bohemia, who by this very passage avowed the existence of a treaty which constituted a formal rupture of the Franco-Austrian alliance of 1756.

In regard to the subversive elements in France, the Kaunitz note continued:

"But should their designs and intrigues prevail, His Majesty trusts that at least the chief and sane part of the (French) nation will then regard as a comforting prospect of support the existence of a concert whose views are worthy of its confidence and suitable for the most serious crisis that has ever affected the common interests of Europe."

Manon Jeanne Phlipon, Madame Roland de la Platière, "Queen of the Girondins."
From the painting by Heinsius, in the museum at Versailles.

This revealed, according to Dumouriez, the intention of the Court of Vienna of arming one part of the French nation against the other.

The analysis of the position of the Court of Vienna led to the conclusions, (1) that the treaty of 1756 was broken by the acts of the House of Austria, (2) that the concert of the powers directed against France was a formal act of hostility, (3) that the failure of the Court of Vienna to reply clearly and satisfactorily to the demands of the King of the French was equivalent to a declaration of war, and (4) that the Marquis de Noailles, French Ambassador at Vienna, should be instantly recalled.

It has been claimed with a certain superficial plausibility that if the French government had acted with reasonable prudence this terrible war, in which all Europe was eventually involved, might have been avoided. Both parties had their grievances, it is true. France complained of the hostile assemblage of the French émigrés tolerated by the emperor and electors on their territories. But before the decisive moment these assemblages had been presumably dispersed by the emperor in his own states and by the Elector of Trèves in his electorate. On the other hand, the German princes having possessions in Alsace, demanded restitution of the feudal rights which had been suppressed by the Revolution and the Imperial Diet had forbidden them to accept satisfaction offered in another form. But decrees of the Imperial Diet were not so peremptory as to preclude delay and further dilatory negotiations. Down to the end of January the intentions of Austria had undoubtedly been pacific. The promises made to the Comte d'Artois in the Declaration of Pillnitz were illusory. The interests of both Prussia and Austria required the presence of considerable forces of these powers on their Polish frontier to curb the appetite of Russia in the case of another partition of Poland. The eagerness

of the dominant political leaders of France undoubtedly hastened the outbreak of the struggle. Nevertheless, a struggle between revolutionary France and feudal, autocratic Europe was inevitable. The monarchs could not have endured for long the presence on their frontiers of a state which, by its example and proselytizing zeal, threatened their own stability.

The military situation of France was very grave. The emigration had deprived the French army of the greater part of its trained officers; 6,000 out of 9,000 had gone, and the departure of others continued right down to the eve of the first engagements. Lafayette urged the royalist officers, appealing to their sense of honor, to emigrate at once so as to clear the situation. Discipline was in a deplorable state. The troops suspected their officers of treason. The new volunteers were filled with a spirit of insubordination. Mutinies broke out at Phalsbourg, Luneville, Neubrisach, and Strassburg. The army, although considerably reinforced by volunteers during recent months, was weak in numbers, containing only 110,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 10,000 artillery. The military forces on the frontiers were divided into three field armies. One of these, commanded by Rochambeau, extended from Dunkerque to Philippeville; a second under Lafayette, covered the frontier from Philippeville to the fortified lines of Wissembourg; and the third, known as the Army of the Rhine, under command of Luckner, stretched from Wissembourg to Bâle. Rochambeau, although old, was a good army chief, but he did not understand the ideas of Dumouriez, who wished to direct matters over the head of Servan. Dillon and Biron, lieutenants of Rochambeau, were very independent. The attention of Lafayette, largely concerned with political affairs, was too often distracted by events in Paris. Lückner, an elderly German, a good second rate officer, had no genius for the command of an army.

There was lack of unity in the command and lack of mutual confidence between the commanders and the troops. In spite of the assurance given by Narbonne, the former minister of war, nothing was ready. The rash enthusiasm of the Girondins had precipitated France into a great and critical struggle almost without any preparation.

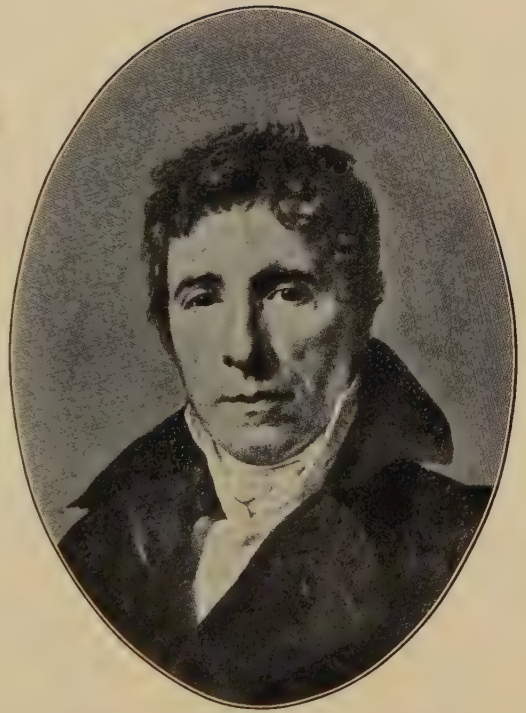
Apparently all the circumstances were unfavorable to France. Dumouriez had been unable to detach Prussia from Austria. As soon as France declared war against the "King of Hungary and of Bohemia," Frederick William II, King of Prussia, desirous of war, gave orders for the immediate concentration of his troops on the French border. Talleyrand, sent by Delessart to England, had failed in his negotiations. Pitt, wishing to keep Great Britain at peace, decided to observe strict neutrality and refused to conclude a treaty of alliance with France. The Girondin dream of a league of liberal nations against the absolute powers proved altogether vain. France, with frontiers weakly guarded, a depleted corps of officers, mediocre generals, a new, inexperienced ministry, a disloyal court, disordered finances, an Assembly swayed by the passions of the populace, entered alone into this memorable struggle with a powerful coalition. The court looked eagerly for a speedy catastrophe and all the circumstances portended it. But France was armed with the invisible force of a great principle. The contest, renewed at intervals, was destined to continue until absolutism had been driven from Europe.

The outbreak of war stirred very deeply the lower classes in France who had borne under the old régime almost the whole burden of organized society. The millions living by daily toil, who, after having been unfairly taxed and despoiled for generations, had been recently liberated from age-long misery, oppression, and injustice, and saw evidence on all sides of the fortunate change in their condition, were suddenly

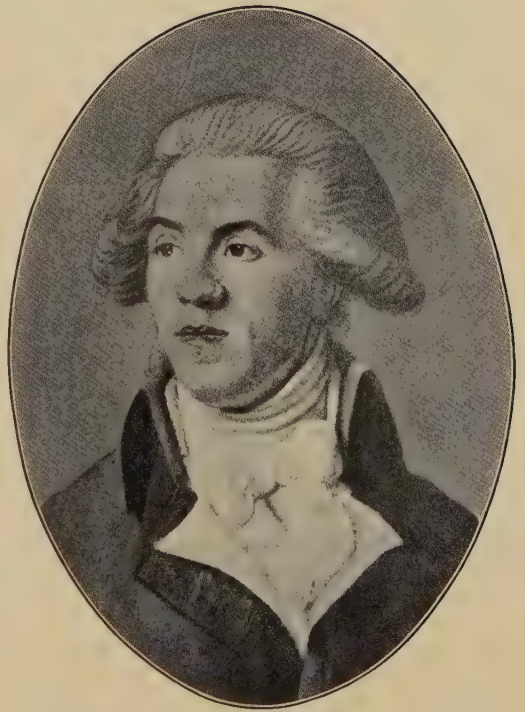
informed of a conspiracy of foreign despots supported by the French émigrés in arms and the impending invasion of France and ruin of all their happiness. The fury of popular resentment bursting forth, stimulated by popular songs denouncing the tyrants and calling the people to arms, produced a second revolutionary movement, narrower, but more intense and destructive than the first. The masses were stirred by a new feeling, the pride of a people, which, suddenly relieved after ages of oppression, has unexpectedly enjoyed equality, independence, and even an important position in the state. Liberty, threatened, turned with blind fury against every enemy, but especially against the real or supposed enemy within the country. This unreasoning force was easily moved by suspicion or intrigue. The Brissotins had armed the people with pikes which were useless in regular warfare, as with a foreign enemy, but were very effective in street conflicts. War soon changed the whole political situation of France.

The disturbed political conditions encouraged the reappearance of the sinister elements that prospered on the public misfortunes. In January, 1790, Jean-Paul Marat, editor of *L'Ami du Peuple*, had been compelled to take refuge in England on account of his violent campaign against the forces of order. He had returned to Paris and resumed publication on May 18, 1790. Again he fled to England, December 15, 1791, and again returned and resumed publication, April 12, 1792.

The extreme revolutionists of Paris, emboldened by the connivance of Mayor Pétion, organized a manifestation in honor of the forty Swiss of the regiment of Châteauvieux guilty of the insurrection at Nancy in 1790, who had been condemned to the galleys at Brest and recently pardoned. It was proposed that the forty Swiss should be received in triumph at the Champ-de-Mars and subscriptions were



Emmanuel Joseph Comte Sieyès. From the painting by J. L. David, in 1817, in the collection of Madame Combes Sieyès.



Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave. From the pastel by J. Boze, in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

sought for the festival. The orderly elements of society were outraged at this proposal to honor and recompense men who had broken the laws, thus undermining discipline by rewarding mutiny. But Marat glorified the conduct of these soldiers and expressed regret that they had not come to the capital to punish the despot and the conscript fathers. On April 9th the Swiss presented themselves at the bar of the Assembly and there was a violent debate on the motion to admit them, which was finally passed by a vote of 281 to 265. Collot d'Herbois introduced them to the Assembly as the "most determined defenders of liberty." They filed through the hall of the Assembly, accompanied by members of the National Guard and the Swiss Guard and a motley array of the populace, wearing the tricolor, carrying pikes and other emblems of liberty or license, filling the place with insolent cries and intimidating the deputies; a degrading scene, forerunner of others.

Among the leaders of sedition who returned in this season to the congenial atmosphere of Paris there was one, Anne-Josephe Terwagne, known to her revolutionary comrades as Théroigne de Méricourt, born August 13, 1762, in the village of Marcourt in Luxembourg, the daughter of Pierre Terwagne (or Théroigne). She had been educated in the abbey of Ribermont. Returning home at the age of seventeen, she had quarreled with her stepmother and had abandoned her home and gone to England, where she had lived precariously until the outbreak of the Revolution. Returning to France, she joined in the march of the women to Versailles on October 5, 1789, and so distinguished herself by her extravagant demonstrations that her apartment in the Rue de Tournon became an important center of revolutionary intercourse. But she was menaced with prosecution for her attitude and conduct on October 5th–6th and took refuge in the Low Countries, where the émigrés denounced

her to the Austrian authorities as having wished to bring about the murder of Marie Antoinette. She was imprisoned at Kufstein, but, liberated by the emperor, she returned to Paris in February, 1792, and appeared before the Jacobins to expose the motives of the persecution which she had endured. In April she presided in company with Louis David at the festival given in honor of the Swiss Guards released from the galleys at Brest.

Fortunately for the French, the military preparations of the hostile coalition were far from complete at the beginning of war in the spring of 1792. Their armies had not been concentrated on the Rhine or in the Low Countries. Nor were Austria and Prussia as yet entirely free from anxiety as to the eventual intentions of Catherine II of Russia in Poland.

Accordingly the army of Rochambeau took the offensive, attacking at two points on the Belgian frontier. One column under Dillon advanced from Lille against Tournay; another under Biron from Quiévrain on Mons. But the forces of Dillon, filled with sudden panic at sight of Austrian huzzars, massacred their general, who attempted to stay their flight, and returned to Lille in a disorderly rout. Biron, finding the heights of Jemappes occupied by Austrian troops, gave up the plan of attack and ordered a retreat. Some dragoons, filled with panic, fled at full speed crying treason and threw the rest of the troops into wild disorder. Weapons were thrown away; men were trampled on or fell from fright. The retreat continued to Valenciennes and was even more precipitate than the flight of the troops of Dillon to Lille.

The enemy were amazed. They remarked that the device of the French was apparently not "Vaincre ou mourir" (Conquer or die), but "Vaincre ou courir" (Conquer or run). The Austrians occupied Quiévrain and the French frontier

was open. But they were not prepared to press forward vigorously and make the most of their advantage. Besides, they were convinced that the final victory was theirs whenever they were ready to claim it. "It will be all over in a few weeks," remarked one of the foreign ambassadors to Gouverneur Morris. The delay was the salvation of revolutionary France. Lafayette and Lückner had time to restore in some measure the morale of their troops.

But the flight of the French made a profound impression. The Belgians who had counted on the French for liberation now regarded them as cowards.

The rumor of a defeat spread through Paris on April 30th producing a delirium of anxious excitement. At the Jacobins, Robespierre declared that the defeat was the inevitable consequence, predicted by himself, of the war undertaken under the direction of the king and his generals, and he denounced the policy of the group in power. But the necessity of restoring discipline and punishing the murderers of Dillon brought the Brissotins for a moment closer to the Feuillants, friends of order, who were alone prepared to support them. On May 2d the Girondins and Feuillants passed a decree against Marat. His presses were seized but he escaped into hiding. A plan of a court-martial was submitted for the trial of the murderers of Dillon. But, while striving to restore order and discipline, the ministers were intent on wiping out the counter-revolution and overawing the aristocrats and the king. They depended on the support of the left wing of the Jacobins for the realization of this purpose.

Madame Roland, actuated by a bitter hatred of the queen, spurred the Girondin leaders to fresh attempts to undermine the throne. But some obvious grievance was required to arouse the passions of the populace. The king had thwarted the expectations of the extremists by his scrupulous observance of the constitution. The Girondins had

hoped in vain that the war would reveal disloyalty on the king's part. This had been a reason for their eagerness for war. They wanted war against Austria alone and all their invectives were directed against the Court of Vienna. They loudly denounced the intrigues of the "Austrian committee" at the Tuileries and accused the king and queen of treasonable intercourse with the enemy, but as yet no positive evidence of this had been produced. It occurred to them next that if Louis XVI were to refuse to sanction any decrees passed by the Assembly, the old cry against the veto could be raised to provoke anti-monarchical feeling. This was probably the main reason why they devised or supported three malevolent decrees, the circumstances of which will be briefly described.

Suspicion of treason as explanation of the disheartening rout of the French columns was easily turned to account to feed the flame of anti-clerical hatred that had again broken out, and on May 27th the Assembly passed the first of these decrees ordering the expulsion from French territory of any refractory priests on the demand of twenty active citizens of their respective communes, if approved by the directories of the district and department. An absurd report that the bodies of refractory French priests, disguised as Austrian soldiers, had been found among the enemy dead, had been spread at a time when there were as yet no enemy dead.

The Assembly was torn and distracted by violent debates and anxiety. After having encouraged military sedition by receiving with honor the mutinous soldiers of Châteauvieux, who had just been released from the galleys, it naïvely sought to bring back discipline into the ranks of the army. The vociferous demonstrations of the public present at its debates added to the prevailing confusion. The same spirit of conflict agitated the clubs. The followers of Robespierre declared at the Jacobins that power had intoxicated the

Brissotins and insinuated that they spared the king because their associates were then his ministers.

The cry was raised that the court was preparing a second massacre of Saint Bartholomew for the patriots. "With what means?"—demanded the Feuillants. For the king had disbanded his Body Guard and did not have the army at hand. But it was observed in reply that the king had a new "Pretorian Guard," the guard created by the constitution, but suspected of loyalty by the revolutionists, and the Left demanded that this too should be disbanded. The decree for the suppression of the constitutional guard was proposed by Gensonné and passed on May 29th. In spite of its clearly unconstitutional character, the king sanctioned it.

The revolutionists undertook, not only to disarm the king, but to prepare, under cover of a plausible pretext, a powerful reserve to the subversive forces at work against him. It was proposed at this time to celebrate a second festival of the Federation on July 14th. Servan, appointed minister of war through the Rolands and an instrument for the execution of their policies, introduced a bill in the Assembly on June 4th providing that each canton of France should send five féderés with uniform and equipment, who, after having appeared in the celebration at the Champ-de-Mars on July 14th, should form a camp of 20,000 men in the vicinity of Paris. The bill was unconstitutional, having been introduced without the assent of the king, who alone had authority to propose any addition to the standing army. Of the ministers, only Roland and Clavière supported Servan; Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranton opposed the measure. Dumouriez had pointed out very clearly the danger to public order that such an assemblage would involve, and during the heated debate he had nearly come to blows with Servan in the king's presence. The selection of the féderés would

practically rest with the Jacobin Clubs all over France and the camp of 20,000 men would constitute a field army for the revolutionists at the gates of Paris.

Remonstrances were received from all parts of the country. Lafayette urged the king by letter to persist in his disapproval of this proposed measure. Even Robespierre expressed disapproval of it. The National Guard of Paris, resenting the proposed intrusion of the féderés, sent a deputation to the Assembly to protest against the imputation that they were incompetent to defend the capital. Their spokesman declared that Servan had violated the constitution and had shown himself to be "the vile instrument of a faction that rends the kingdom." The reading of petitions opposing or favoring the camp provoked disorders in the Assembly. When the former was presented, the Left withdrew, and when the latter, the Right left the chamber. But the Assembly passed the decree on June 6th.

The king refused to sanction the decrees on the refractory priests and the camp before Paris. On June 10th Roland brought a letter to the Council in which he addressed the king in an insolent, condescending tone, offensive to the royal dignity. After reading this famous letter aloud he handed it to Louis XVI. It informed the king that his delay in sanctioning the two decrees was creating distrust and that, if it were prolonged, it would cause discontent and this might lead to violence and bloodshed. Roland accompanied the reading of the letter with a bitter reproof of the conduct of the king, representing him as a perjurer, reproaching him on the subject of his confessor, the body guard, the indiscretions of the queen, and the intrigues of the court with Austria. There is reason to believe that this letter was a final trap for the king devised by Madame Roland, who inspired or actually composed the text, expecting that it would result in the dismissal of the ministers and that this would

provoke a popular uprising in June, 1792, as the dismissal of Necker had done in July, 1789.

At the time the king calmly folded the letter and put it in his pocket, but on the 13th, as Roland was about to set out for a meeting of the Council, he received a note from the king asking him to resign the portfolio of the interior. With the advice of Dumouriez, who was now in conflict with his Jacobin colleagues, the king dismissed Roland, Clavière, and Servan. He requested Dumouriez to remain with Lacoste and Duranton. Dumouriez took the portfolio of war, but his position was precarious because he had aroused the enmity of the Jacobins.

The action of the king created a sensation in the Assembly, where the dismissed ministers were illegally admitted on the 14th and treated as martyrs. Roland's letter was ordered printed and a motion was passed that the dismissed ministers carried with them the regret of the nation. Dumouriez exposed the grave condition of the army, for which he blamed de Grave and Servan, but he was violently attacked as a traitor. Yielding to the opposition, perhaps against his better judgment, Dumouriez urged the king to accept the decrees, suggesting the danger of a violent outbreak, and resigned his portfolio on the 16th, after having conferred upon himself a command in the army, when Louis XVI persisted in his refusal.

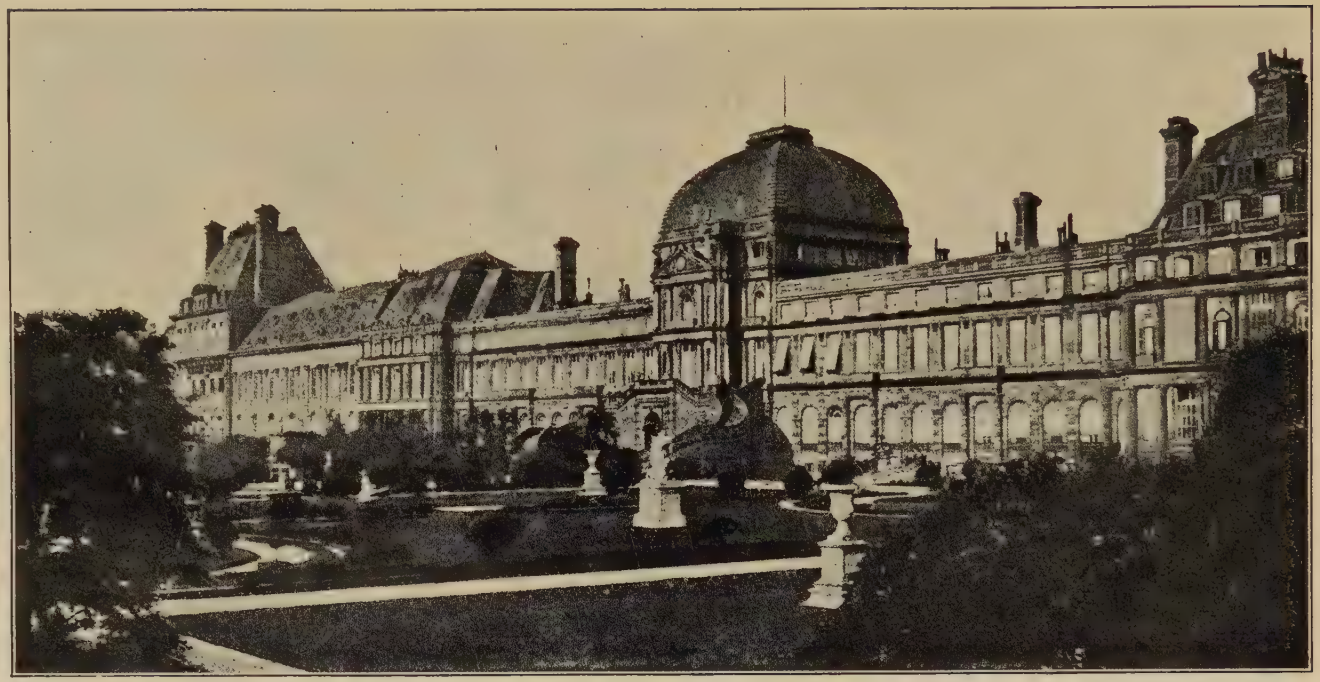
The substantial elements of society approved the attitude of the king. Lafayette wrote a letter to the Assembly declaring that the Jacobin faction had caused all the disorders and that as a distinct corporation, directed by a few ambitious leaders, it was usurping the powers of the nation. He denounced this sect which was undermining authority and substituting the spirit of partisanship for the will of the people. He invited the Assembly to destroy the power of the clubs and substitute the reign of law. Lafayette's protest

was received with an outburst of execration from the Girondins, but his sentiments were endorsed by sixty-five departments and several of the large towns of the country. On the 19th the king formally vetoed the two obnoxious decrees of the Assembly.

The first reverses of the French army and the failure of Dumouriez' diplomatic plans had doubtless contributed to discredit the Girondins and encourage Louis XVI to dismiss his ministers. Dumouriez had hoped to keep the Germanic body as a whole neutral in the war. With the exception of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the minor German rulers, who had nothing to gain by war, remained neutral for the time. But in spite of Dumouriez' efforts, Prussia made common cause with Austria and prepared to enter the field.

Louis XVI chose new ministers among the Feuillants, Scipion Chambonnas for foreign affairs, Terrier-Monteil for the interior, Beaulieu for finances, and Lajarre for war, men of no fame or prestige. Lacoste and Duranton retained for a time the portfolios of justice and the marine.

The Feuillant party was nearing the end of its existence. Between the extreme belligerent parties, one imploring Europe to destroy the Revolution, the other determined to maintain it at any cost, there was scarcely room for a moderate party, endeavoring to carry out its policy by legal means. Yet those who had been left behind by the popular tide and belonged to the early period of the Revolution drew together in an effort to check the disruptive movement. Lally-Tollendal and Malouet, two of the leading monarchists; the Feuillants, directed by the former triumvirate, Duport, Lameth, and Barnave; and Lafayette, who still possessed a great reputation, tried in vain to curb the clubs, strengthen the power of law, and consolidate the authority of the crown. The effect of Lafayette's letter to the Assembly, written for this purpose, was probably on the whole unfortunate. Pure



The Palace of the Tuileries. From a photograph made before the burning of the buildings during the Commune of 1871.

as were Lafayette's motives, the attitude of a commander of an army in thus addressing the political power in such a period inevitably provoked suspicion and resentment; his intentions were misunderstood. Lafayette seemed to aspire to the rôle of a Cromwell, and from this moment he became rapidly estranged from the leaders of the Revolution.

The arts of the demagogue were destined in the end to prevail over any arguments of thoughtful statesmanship. But the originally voluntary or spontaneous deference of the leaders for the multitude was becoming a compulsory and extravagant tribute of adulation, while affected simplicity of dress and manners was becoming a rigorous convention. The term *sans-culottes* is an interesting illustration. This appellation, meaning literally "without knee-breeches," was at first used contemptuously for the poorer classes of the revolutionary period, whose distinctive costume was the *pantalon*, or long trousers, the *carmagnole*, or short-skirted coat, the red cap of liberty, and the *sabots*, or wooden shoes, and was then applied to the ill-clad and ill-equipped volunteers of the revolutionary forces and the leaders of the populace. In February, 1792, at the time of the arming of the populace of Paris, the term came into general use as a designation for the ultra-democrats. The patriots began to pride themselves on this designation which the aristocrats had originally used as a scornful epithet, just as the representatives of Holland adopted as an honorable distinction the appellation "beggars" flung at them by their enemies. The expression *sans-culottes* gained wide usage in the clubs, in the army, and in journalism. Several journals took the name.

CHAPTER X

The Invasion of the Tuileries

The plan and preparations for the popular insurrectionary movement of June 20, 1792. The line of march. The leaders. The crowd before the Manége; its admission to the hall of the Assembly; the impulse to invade the Royal Palace of the Tuileries. The crowd forces its way to the presence of the king, who calmly endures its threats and insults. The arrival of Pétion. The crowd in the presence of the queen. Calm restored. Results of the events of June 20th: reaction in favor of the royal authority; indignation throughout the country; Lafayette's conduct; disappointment of the extreme Left; determined efforts of the Jacobins to overcome the reactionary tendency. Disquieting news from the front and increasing anarchy in the interior. "*La Patrie est en danger!*"

Matters had now reached a crisis. The revolutionary sections and the faubourgs were in a state of great excitement. There is reason to believe that the insurrectionary movement of June 20th was conceived in the salon of Madame Roland. Danton, Marat, Santerre, and Desmoulins met at Charenton by night and organized the popular outbreak. Professional agitators, Santerre, the brewer, Legendre, the butcher, Fournier, the "American," Chabot, the Marquis de Saint-Hurugues, and others carried out the preparations. It was proposed ostensibly that the people should celebrate the third anniversary of the Oath of the Tennis Court by marching in arms to plant a tree of liberty and petition the king and Assembly for the sanction of the decrees and the recall of the dismissed ministers.

The council general of the commune of Paris and the directory of the department, both having a constitutionalist majority, forbade the demonstration, but the Assembly hesitated

and let events take their course. Pétion was informed by the battalion chiefs of the National Guard of the eastern faubourgs that nothing could prevent the movement. At one A.M. on the 20th he proposed to the directory that the people of the faubourgs while marching should be enclosed by lines of the National Guard along the proposed route, but the directory rejected this suggestion as offering protection for the revolutionary manifestants. Pétion repeatedly urged his proposal but the directory persisted in its refusal.

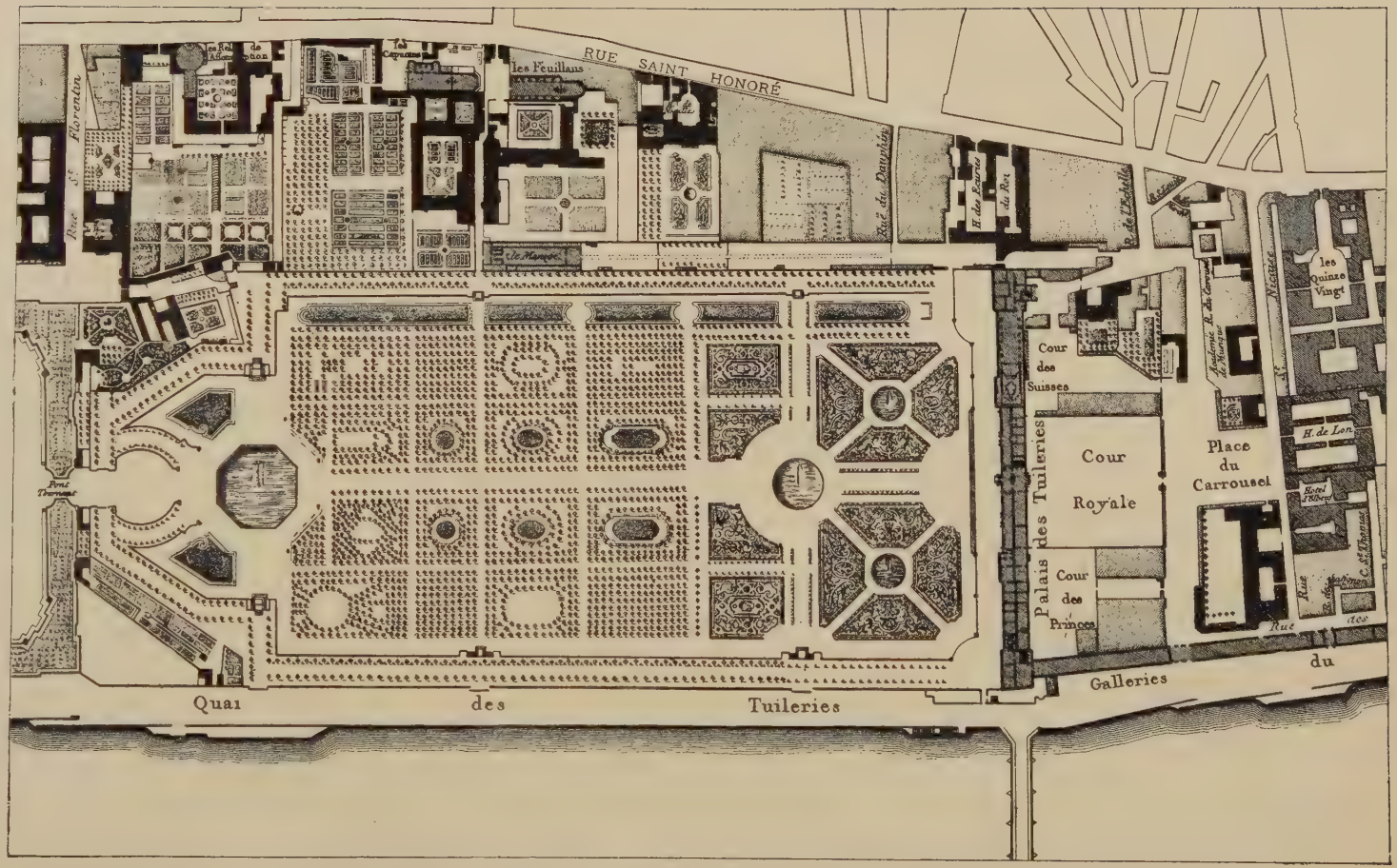
The municipality had the right to requisition the National Guard, but the directory had precedence over the authorities of the Hôtel de Ville. All morning Pétion detained the commandant general of the Paris National Guard at the council general of the commune and thus prevented him from receiving the orders opposed to the enclosing of the marching populace which the directory of the department sent to his place of residence. Finally, at Pétion's instigation, the council general ordered the commandant of the National Guard to "assemble under the colors the citizens of all uniforms and all arms, who will march, thus united, under the command of the battalion officers." This was in effect legalizing the insurrection.

In the meantime the leaders who controlled the operation of the revolutionary machine had employed every means for arousing the populace to the necessary state of ardor and frenzied excitement. They exhorted the agents of agitation, assigned the rôles, and lavished money and strong drink on the multitude. Seditious pamphlets were distributed in the streets. Walls were placarded with incendiary calumnies against the royal family. A caricature peddled on the quays represented Louis XVI with the crown slipping from his head playing picquet with the Duc d'Orléans and exclaiming: "*J'ai écarté les coeurs; il a pour lui les piques; j'ai perdu la partie.* (I have discarded the hearts; he has

the spades (or pikes); I have lost the game.)" The play is on the word *piques*, which may mean either spades or pikes. Pétion had ordered the forging of 30,000 pikes to be distributed among the people. The professional instigators of crime had been busy. Orators harangued the inhabitants of the faubourgs. Prominent among the agitators was Théroigne de Méricourt, who had organized revolutionary clubs for women in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

At first the people showed very little alacrity. Only the sections of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, and the Observatoire were ready to march at the appointed time and only 1,500 men had assembled in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to follow Santerre. The commanders of the National Guard in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel and the Observatoire were opposed to marching, but when they had arrived in the quarter of the Val-de-Grâce, they were enveloped in a crowd of men armed with pikes who induced their contingents of the National Guard to join in the march. Emissaries from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine secured the adhesion of the battalion of the National Guard of Montreuil. Except in these three sections the National Guard remained faithful to the directory of the department and to the government.

The petitioners assembled in two divisions, one before the Salpêtrière and the other at the Place de la Bastille. The second, commanded by Santerre, bore the flag of the battalion of the National Guard and drew with it guns and in a cart a poplar which they proposed to plant as a tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillants. It was nearly noon before the crowd began to move along the quays in the direction of the hall of the Assembly. They were joined by many National Guardsmen, with and without uniform, armed with muskets and dragging guns, and by people of both sexes and all ages, a motley horde, armed with



Plan of the gardens and palace of the Tuileries.

lances, pikes, stakes, axes, pitch-forks, sledge-hammers, and clubs, and carrying a variety of emblems. The presence of the dregs of the population, misery and rags, criminals, desperadoes, brigands, faces distorted by wild passions or drink, gave a terrible appearance to the procession.

Led by Santerre, Saint-Hurugues, and the famous Théroigne de Méricourt riding on a cannon, the multitude passed through the Rue Saint-Honoré to the Passage des Feuillants which led to the Manége. The Manége, which served as the hall of the Assembly, stood near the present junction of the Rue Castiglione and the Rue de Rivoli. At the time of the Revolution the gardens of the convents and private mansions of the Rue Saint-Honoré stretched down to the present line of the Rue de Rivoli. From the Manége eastward a narrow passage, known as the Cour du Manége, separated them from the Garden of the Tuileries. The narrower Passage des Feuillants led down from the Rue de Rivoli, past one end of the Manége, to the Porte des Feuillants, which opened onto the Tuileries Gardens.

The head of the procession turned into the Passage des Feuillants which was soon filled to suffocation. The petitioners demanded admission to the Assembly, and a violent debate ensued in the chamber. The Left saluted the people "which was rising." "The people!"—expostulated the Right with scorn, "these who bring a petition with cannons and pikes." The leading Girondins demanded that the people should be allowed to enter and lay their "sufferings and anxieties" before the Assembly. One deputy exclaimed: "It is evident that those who brought them here cannot send them away again."

The crowd forced their way into the corridor. The Assembly was thrown into indescribable confusion; cries of protest and alarm filled the hall. Finally, about two P.M. it was decided to admit a deputation of the petitioners.

The spokesman of this deputation, Sulpice Huguenin, a deserter from the army and agent of brothels, frightful in mien, a "new Cicero," according to the account of the Girondin idealists, set forth his "sublime ideas" in a furious tirade, embellished with the grandiloquent phraseology of the Jacobin Club. He threatened the king and even the Assembly, reproaching the executive power for the dismissal of the ministers, the inaction of the armies, and the dilatoriness of the National High Court. "This afflicted people," he cried, "asks whether you are going to abandon it. It is aroused, equal to the circumstances, ready to use powerful means to avenge its outraged majesty. The people is there; it awaits in silence a reply worthy of its sovereignty."

Meanwhile a part of the crowd broke open the Porte des Feuillants and others forced their way into the garden of the Capucin monastery, where they planted their tree of liberty. At last the Assembly, intimidated, decided to let the crowd of petitioners file through the hall. The president, François de Nantes, receiving them, declared to these "brave compatriots," with his hand on his heart, that the Assembly would know how "to repress the crimes of the conspirators."

For three hours the crowd marched through the hall, brandishing their varied weapons, sabres, pikes, axes, or spits, shrieking: "Long live the sans-coulottes! Long live the nation! Down with the veto!" They passed through the Manége and out into the narrow Cour du Manége, which they followed as far as the Porte du Dauphin which opened onto the Tuileries Garden near the north end of the palace. Ten battalions of the National Guard were ranged along the west terrace of the palace. Two others were stationed on the river side of the palace, and four battalions with five or six hundred mounted police and twenty guns guarded the Place Royale on the east side. Just

as the multitude was admitted to the garden through the Porte du Dauphin, Napoleon Bonaparte was coming out of a restaurant near the Palais-Royal with Bourrienne and exclaimed: "What imbeciles! How could they allow that rabble to enter. They should have swept away four or five hundred of them with cannons and the rest would still be running."

The crowd streamed along the terrace to the gate leading out onto the quay, turned to the left for a distance, and then poured into the Place du Carrousel. At first they headed for the Rue Saint-Nicaise as though to depart. But a contrary movement started in front of the Hôtel de Longeville which fronted the Place du Carrousel on the east. Saint-Prix, commander of the battalion of Val-de-Grâce, in passing through the Rue Saint-Honoré on his way to the Assembly, had sent his guns to the Place du Carrousel to wait the return of the battalion. Upon reaching the quay he sent a captain to order the gunners to rejoin him there. But these refused to obey and excited the people against the officer who had brought the order. Saint-Prix entered the Place du Carrousel himself to repeat in person the order for departure. But the lieutenant of the gunners cried: "No, we shall not depart," and then pointing to the palace, he called to his comrades, "Come follow me, gunners, straight at the enemy." In vain one of the members of the municipality threw himself in front of the gunners, reminding them of their oath.

Without orders from Mayor Pétion the commander of the National Guard present would not assume the responsibility of proclaiming martial law as a prelude to resistance. In fact, the spirit of the military leaders was paralyzed by knowledge of the king's aversion to bloodshed in his behalf. No one defended the palace. The gate of the courtyard was thrown open and the crowd poured in. Bursting open the

doors of the palace they rushed upstairs with such frantic vehemence that a cannon was borne on their shoulders up the splendid staircase into the Hall of the Hundred Swiss.

Door after door was battered open until the leaders heard a voice saying: "Open! I have nothing to fear from Frenchmen!" Doors were thrown open, the crowd surged into the Oeil de Boeuf and drew back in embarrassed astonishment at encountering the benevolent gaze of the king.

Although a phlegmatic imagination has a less vivid impression of danger, the calm intrepidity displayed by Louis XVI on this and other critical occasions was worthy of the greatest admiration. If his physical courage had been combined with a genius for stirring the enthusiasm of the crowd, Louis XVI might have become a popular idol. But on every occasion of contact with the populace he failed to engage their imagination.

For a moment the mob was brought to a stand on the threshold of the Oeil de Boeuf. "Citizens," cried the intrepid brewer, Acloque, "Recognize your king! Respect him! The king orders it. We shall all perish rather than suffer the least harm to be done him." But the bolder members of the crowd soon thrust themselves into the apartment, brandishing their weapons and calling for the death of the king. The few Swiss Guards present drew their swords but the king interposed. The king's defenders led him to the recess of a window where he mounted on a settee and they endeavored to cover his person with their bodies. There were four grenadiers of the National Guard, Marshal de Mouchy, seventy-seven years old, the brewer Acloque, and Stéphanie de Bourbon-Conti, the natural daughter of the Prince de Conti, who armed with a sword was very active in protecting the king against the ruffians who at times threatened his life. The conduct of Madame Elisabeth, the king's sister, also present, was equally heroic. Hearing the

Louis XVI surrounded by the mob which invaded the Tuileries on June 20, 1792. From an etching by Pauquet of the sketch made by C. P. L. in 1792.

crowd cry for the head of the queen, she offered her breast to their daggers, saying, "Here is the queen!"—but her attendants interposed and led her to a window embrasure next to the one occupied by the king.

For several hours the king and his sister endured the presence of the crowd, their threats and insults, the fetid atmosphere, the terrible spectacle of rags and misery, terrifying emblems, such as the bleeding heart of a calf carried on a pole, labelled "aristocrat's heart," a miniature gallows with a female figure attached and the inscription, "For Antoinette," and a guillotine entitled, "For the tyrant." A group of men sat drinking and smoking in the elegant arm-chairs of the royal apartment. Outside in the court the throng were crying, "Long live the nation! Down with Monsieur Veto! Down with Madame Veto!"—under the windows of the royal apartments.

The butcher Legendre addressed the king brutally: "Sire, hear us! It is your place to listen to us. . . . . You are untrue. You have always deceived us and you are still deceiving us. But take care; the measure is full and the people are tired of being your plaything."

He proceeded to read a petition demanding the sanction of the decrees, to which the king replied calmly: "I shall do what the constitution and laws order me to do."

The crowd in their fury rattled their sabres around the king, who declared that it was neither the time nor place to examine the decrees and that he had never departed from the constitution. His voice was drowned in the uproar. Some one handed him a red woolen cap at the end of a long pole and he took it and put it on his head. The crowd cried, "Long live the king!" The king raised the cap with tricolor cockade attached in the air and cried: "Long live the nation."

It was hot and close in the apartment.

suspected the court of treasonable designs. The substantial part of the nation, which had taken no part in the events of June 20th, was distressed at these disgraceful proceedings and deplored the subjection of the Assembly to organized agitation and the passion or caprice of the crowd. A storm of indignation passed over the country. Many of the directories of the departments and municipal corporations and the National Guard forgot their suspicions of the court and felt a lively concern for the situation of the king. Many of the municipalities denounced the impudence of the mob as a public outrage.

The city of Rouen sent a communication to the Assembly demanding just vengeance on the perpetrators:

"Punish the authors of the offenses committed on the 20th of this month at the Château of the Tuileries. It is a public outrage; it is an attempt on the rights of the French people who will not accept laws from a few brigands in the capital; we ask you for vengeance."

The department of the Aisne publicly urged the Assembly to suppress the Jacobins and to put an end to its own dissensions and the intolerable oppression exercised by the public galleries in the deliberations of the chamber. Many of the cities of the country sent addresses signed by the most important individuals of the places, congratulating the king on his firmness and demanding vengeance for the excesses committed. Such a petition, signed by about 20,000 of the people of Paris, was called "the petition of the 20,000."

The outrages of the 20th were generally resented by the armies on the frontiers. Lafayette, sincerely alarmed, left Lückner in the chief command and hastened from his camp at Bavai to Paris, hoping to obtain the coöperation of all who were grieved at what had occurred and thus put an end to the Jacobins. Appearing at the bar of the Assembly on June 28th, he denounced the efforts of the conspirators

to overturn the monarchy and the constitution, declaring:

"The violence committed at the Château on the 20th of this month has excited the alarm of all good citizens. I have received addresses from the different divisions of my army. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men are one and therein express their patriotic hatred of the factions. . . . Already many of them wonder whether it is really the cause of liberty that they are defending. . . . I implore in my own name and in that of all honest men that the Assembly take efficacious measures to make constituted authority respected and to give the army the assurance that no attacks will be made on the constitution from within whilst they lavish their blood to defend it from outside enemies."

The Girondins greeted Lafayette's words with indignant cries, but the majority of the Assembly showed its approval of his step in rejecting by a vote of 339 against 234 a motion to send him back to the army.

The extreme Left was of course bitterly disappointed at the results of the events on the 20th. The king had neither been assassinated nor driven from the throne. The sympathy of the nation had been aroused in his behalf. The Jacobins, exasperated at the outcome, exerted themselves to counteract the reactionary tendency in public opinion. On June 23d the following address was placarded in the streets of Paris: "Fathers of the country, we rise a second time to fulfill the most sacred of duties. The inhabitants of the faubourgs of Paris, men of July Fourteenth, come to denounce before you a false king, guilty of high treason, unworthy longer to occupy the throne."

Some of the municipalities of the country, favorable to a fresh revolution since the attempted flight of the king in June, 1791, rejoiced at the humiliation of royalty. In an

address to the Assembly the municipality of Marseilles recalled the terms of the Declaration of Rights and attacked the constitution, hereditary monarchy, and royalty. The Jacobin Clubs and popular societies throughout the country propagated by every means an anti-monarchical sentiment. The departmental and district directories of the Basses-Alpes were drawn into this movement. In an address to the Assembly, the directory of the Basses-Alpes demanded the suspension of the king, alleging that his conduct was "in opposition to his oaths, the interests of the nation, and the safety of the country."

The Jacobins associated Lafayette with the court, the aristocrats, and the émigrés. On the evening of the 28th Robespierre denounced him in scathing terms at the Jacobin Club. At the same time the court persisted in regarding him as one of its worst enemies.

"It would be better to perish than to be saved by Lafayette!" cried Marie Antoinette. Falsely interpreting the reaction of public opinion as a counter-revolutionary movement and exaggerating its importance, the court thought that it had no further use for Lafayette and regarded him with contempt. Mercy had written to Kaunitz in May, informing him that Lafayette lacked resources and that his army was disorganized. Probably at this time Marie Antoinette expected a victorious offensive on the part of the emperor which would result in a much more complete reëstablishment of the Old Régime than could be expected of Lafayette. The king, who was to pass the National Guard in review on the 29th, hearing that Lafayette intended to be present for the purpose of inducing the militia to coöperate in suppressing the Jacobins, asked Pétion to countermand the affair. Disappointed in his plans and chilled by his reception at court, Lafayette returned to the frontier and the Orléanists burned his effigy in the garden of the Palais-Royal. Thus ended the

last attempt of the constitutionalists to conciliate the monarchy and liberal institutions.

Another popular outbreak was all the time impending. On June 25th a deputation from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, calling itself the "Men of the Fourteenth of July," appeared before the Assembly, led by a professional orator who delivered a furious revolutionary harangue. The popular invasions of the chamber, the threats, and the violence of the mob were undermining the courage and independence of the legislative body. When, on July 3d, Vergniaud demanded a report on the conduct of Lafayette in coming to Paris he was applauded even among the deputies of the Right from timidity.

Bad news reached Paris about July first. It was reported from the front that Lückner had retreated to Lille and that the suburbs of Courtrai had been burned. Demoralization was spreading in the Army of the North. The attitude of the Belgians had become hostile. Anarchy was threatening the interior of the country. The departmental administrations, receiving from the central authorities neither directions nor equipment for the volunteers, acted independently, like as many small autonomous, and only loosely federated, communities.

Vergniaud demanded an appeal to the patriotism of all classes by the declaration, "*La patrie est en danger*" (The nation is in danger), but the Assembly hesitated before this momentous step, Girondins as well as Feuillants fearing to provoke an immense movement which they would be unable to control.

Lamourette, constitutional bishop of Rhône-et-Loire, made a pathetic appeal on July 7th for the reconciliation of all parties, the deputies exchanged the kiss of peace, instituting a truce which obscured for a moment the gravity of the situation. The king appeared in the Assembly to protest his

fidelity and his love for the people. But in spite of these manifestations the aristocrats and Feuillants combined for a vigorous attack on the Brissotins, and on the same day the directory of the department took courage to suspend Pétion and Manuel, the mayor and procureur of Paris, from their functions. But the situation had changed very much since June 20th. Pétion was now very popular, the idol of his party. His suspension, legally justified by his conduct on June 20th and expected at that time by his friends as the inevitable consequence, was now, only about two weeks later, regarded by many as an arbitrary act of tyranny. The king's confirmation of Pétion's suspension on the 12th provoked a storm of indignation. The seditious needed Pétion in the crucial position as mayor of Paris, and the multitude, at the suggestion of the agitators, went about the streets crying "Pétion or death." By an abuse of their authority, the deputies voted to annul the suspension as contrary to the constitution. The king shrank from drastic measures in opposition to the Assembly and Pétion and Manuel returned to the Hôtel de Ville.

The extremists had failed to bring about the downfall of Louis XVI on the pretext of the dismissal of the three patriot ministers or the royal veto of the two decrees. But they now hoped that their purpose could be achieved through popular terror. By the beginning of July the Prussian troops had begun to arrive on the French frontier. It was hoped that the menace of invasion could be used to arouse the resentment of the people against the royal family which it suspected of treasonable intercourse with the enemy. For this reason the Left supported the proposed proclamation, "*La Patrie est en danger*," calling the nation to arms.

But the revolutionary leadership was on the point of passing from the Girondins, who were disconcerted by the dismissal of their ministers and the outcome of June 20th

The devotion of Madame Elisabeth. The king's sister, on hearing the mob cry for the head of the queen, offered herself, saying: "Here is the queen," but she was saved by her attendants. From the engraving by Vérité after the sketch by Bouillon, in the French government collections.

and had become hesitant and indecisive, to the faction of the extreme Left which pursued a definite aim with ruthless determination. After the failure to overthrow the king through the unaided efforts of the Parisian populace, the leaders were inclined to await the arrival of reinforcements from the departments before resuming the effort of June 20th. Although the king had vetoed the decree for the assembling of 20,000 *fédérés*, or federals, to be delegated by the cantons of France, for the celebration of the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille and their subsequent concentration in a camp near Paris, deputations from all the departments were expected to gather in Paris for July 14th, many of them under arms. Municipalities throughout the country chose delegations of the National Guard for this festival of the Federation from among the most ardent patriots. Many of them were expected to proceed later to a camp at Soissons, the establishment of which had been decreed by the Assembly for the defense of Champagne.

On July 10th the Assembly absolved Lafayette by a vote of 446 against 224, but on the next day it adopted the resolution declaring "*La patrie est en danger.*" This was an appeal to the nation to save itself: "Numerous forces are advancing against our frontiers; all who abhor liberty are arming against our constitution. Citizens, the country is in danger!" Pétion, restored to his functions on the 13th was the hero of the national festival of the 14th. He was acclaimed by the people at the Champ-de-Mars, as Lafayette had been two years before, very little regard being paid to the king who was present with the queen and renewed his oath at the altar of the nation.

The federals upon arrival in Paris were welcomed by the Jacobin Club and instructed in revolutionary doctrine by Robespierre, Carra, Danton, and other representative members. Their number rose from 2,690 on the 18th to 5,314 on

the 30th. Alleging unwillingness to leave an enemy in the rear, they refused to quit Paris until the king was deposed. The extremists had forced the deposition or dethronement of the king into the foreground of political discussion.

The federals were placed under a secret directory, which included professional agitators, such as Gorsas, Fournier, Carra, Santerre, Chabot, and Lazowski. Under their influence the federals presented an address to the Assembly on the 17th denouncing the king for treason. The president of the Assembly replied vaguely that constitutional means would be found for saving the nation.

The declaration of "*La patrie est en danger*" was not proclaimed in Paris until July 22d–23d because of the king's delay in sanctioning the decree. Its promulgation was made a dramatic manifestation that deeply stirred the masses. While cannons resounded on the Pont-Neuf and at the Arsenal, twelve municipal officers, preceded by a detachment of cavalry, trumpets and drum, and six pieces of artillery, rode through Paris, carrying a tricolor banner with the words: "*La patrie est en danger!*" At prominent points temporary platforms had been erected, decorated with the tricolor, where recruiting officers received the engagements of volunteers. In three days there were more than 4,000 enrolments in Paris. The Assembly passed two decrees proposed by Vergniaud on the 24th and 25th, the first organizing battalions of volunteers, the second forbidding any commander of a fortress under pain of death to surrender before the enemy had opened a breach in his defenses. But the exaltation of the crowd was due as much to anger and hatred nourished by the insinuations of seditious agitators as to patriotic enthusiasm.

The leading Girondins, who had ceased to lead the van of revolutionary opinion, were now ready to retain the king, if he would recall the dismissed ministers. A sort of ultimatum

in this sense was secretly addressed to Louis XVI by Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Guadet on July 26th. Then, as though to bring pressure to bear through the legislative body, they had an address to the king submitted to the Assembly by the Commission of Twelve, a sort of incipient committee of public safety of the chamber, with the following exhortation: "The nation alone will undoubtedly know how to defend and preserve its liberty, but it beseaches you, Sire, for the last time, to unite with it for the defense of the constitution and the throne."

Brissot offered secretly to save the throne if the king would accept the domination of the Girondins. Already members of the Left suspected Brissot and Vergniaud of defection. The Girondin chiefs were dismayed at perceiving the revolutionary movement passing from their control into the hands of the Cordeliers and Robespierrists. They foresaw the insurrection which was being prepared by Chabot in the Assembly and by Danton in the clubs and wished to prevent it. They were ready to accept any arrangement that would bring their own party back to power. But the king was deaf to their overtures.

Gouverneur Morris, the American, wrote on July 25th that the Austrians were talking with the greatest confidence of passing the winter in Paris. The military power of France seemed on the point of collapsing. But the danger from abroad seemed to inflame the seditious zeal of the popular leaders in Paris. The arrival of the contingent of federals from Brest was the occasion of an attempted outbreak. A revolutionary committee, containing Carra; Santerre; the German, Westermann; Fournier, the "American;" and the Pole, Lazowski, met on the evening of the 26th at the tavern, "Soleil d'Or," at the entrance of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, for the purpose of organizing a second march on the Tuileries. Every effort was made to arouse the people by exhortations,

incendiary placards, and false reports, but this time the agitators failed to provoke an uprising. It was clear that the insurrectionary leaders could not hope for a successful outbreak in the capital until the populace of Paris were strongly reinforced by the armed revolutionary federals from outside.

The expectations of the conspirators were chiefly based on the arrival of the contingents from Brest and Marseilles. The Assembly had voted that these two bodies of warlike volunteers should unite at Paris and the king had sanctioned the decree.

Barbaroux, a young lawyer of Marseilles, had attracted the attention of Roland, who had introduced him to the Girondin deputies. Barbaroux, who came to play an important part in the preparations for the popular insurrection, had suggested an appeal to the more passionate spirit of the south and a message had consequently been sent to the Jacobin mayor of Marseilles, asking him for six hundred determined men "who knew how to die." In response to this summons, a body of 516 National Guardsmen, aflame with revolutionary zeal, marched across France in the height of a torrid summer, at a phenomenal rate, dragging cannon with them. At the banquet held at Marseilles on June 22d, on the occasion of the departure of this battalion, a Jacobin of Montpellier had sung "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," composed by Rouget de l'Isle at Strassburg three months before at the request of Mayor Dietrich. This stirring anthem, received with rapturous enthusiasm, was appropriated by the Marseillais as their marching song and has since borne their name.

The battalion of federals of Marseilles, commanded by François Moisson and Pierre Garnier, the latter afterwards a general under Dumerbion and Bonaparte, reached Charenton the evening of July 29th and entered Paris about noon

The enrollment of volunteers, July, 1792. From the painting by J. B. A. Vinchon, in the gallery at Versailles.

on the next day. Guided by Santerre, they traversed the "faubourg of glory," crossed the Place de la Bastille, and marched through streets and boulevards to their barracks in the Chaussée-d'Antin, singing "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," which had not yet been heard in Paris. The circumstances of their arrival, the martial music and the stirring words of the anthem thrilled the immense crowd, which greeted their arrival with joyous cries: "Long live the nation! Long live liberty!"

In the evening a patriotic banquet was offered to them in the Champs-Élysées, but these turbulent protagonists of liberty assailed a number of National Guardsmen of aristocratic or Lafayettist sentiment in the neighborhood of the restaurant, killing one, wounding several others, and driving the rest to shelter in the Tuileries.

Towards the end of July the assemblies of the forty-eight sections of Paris were becoming the centers of intense political activity. Legally these assemblies contained only the active citizens, an average number of about 1,800 in each section. Their meeting places were mostly churches, the only buildings large enough to hold them. Each had a president and secretary who convoked them, as well as committees, and they voted on various measures and resolutions.

The National Guard of Paris, thirty thousand men, was still divided into sixty battalions according to the obsolete division of the city in 1789 into sixty districts. The ministry, the directory of the department, and the municipal authorities had the right to requisition the National Guard, but the sections tended more and more to regard the Guard of Paris as their own force.

The sections now corresponded with one another on questions of policy. The Assembly granted them the right of permanence, so that any section could meet when it wished and could maintain a committee of citizens permanently at

its meeting place. The sections demanded a common center of activity and the municipal chiefs of Paris had the communal council general authorize the establishment of a bureau of correspondence for them in the Hôtel de Ville under the direction of Manuel and Danton. They were thus organized for action.

But still more significant was a fundamental change in the composition of the sectional assemblies. Admission to these assemblies was legally restricted to the active citizens of the different sections. But the sections now began to admit the lower class of the politically disfranchised, who were naturally hostile to the constitution, which denied them political equality, and were therefore responsive to the seditious appeals of the agitators. Thus the popular influence increased very greatly in the assemblies of the sections and they became centers of political agitation, while losing their legal character. They were henceforth public gatherings, sometimes including even women and children, where the people vociferously applauded or abused the speakers.

Since the sections had become conspicuous organs of political activity in Paris, it will be well to consider briefly their varied character. Chief among the revolutionary sections of the east was the Quinze-Vingts, which comprised the greater part of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, inhabited by industrial operatives, largely cabinet and furniture makers, upholsterers, marble-cutters, employés of the wall-paper factory of Réveillon, Henriot's saltpetre works, and the royal glass manufactory. The section was controlled by the brewer Santerre, a man about forty years of age, affable and very popular, a leader in every serious outbreak. The Faubourg Saint-Antoine, as we have seen, was the hot-bed of revolutionary violence.

Next in revolutionary prominence was the section of the Gobelins on the left bank of the Seine in the southeast,

inhabited principally by tanners, leather-dressers, and employés of the royal tapestry works. In this section the leadership had passed from constitutionalists, like the faithful Aclocque, to bourgeois revolutionists, like Alexandre, commander of the National Guard, and the Pole Lazowski.

The prevailing spirit in the central sections of the Temple, the Place Royale, and the Hôtel de Ville was moderate. That of the sections of the Jardin des Plantes, the Thermes de Julien, the Quatre-Nations, and the Observatoire, on the left bank, where there were many professional people, physicians, engineers, and savants, as well as publishers and printers, was also constitutionalist. But the neighboring section of the Théâtre-Français (the present Odéon), scene of activity of Danton, Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine Fournier, the American, Fréron, Manuel, and Marat, was a veritable cradle of conspiracy.

Among the lower classes of the Luxembourg, the section of the butcher Legendre, the Croix-Rouge, and the Fontaine-de-Grenelle, the feeling of repugnance felt by the populace for the nobles and capitalists of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and the priests of Saint-Sulpice, residing in their midst or immediate neighborhood, had grown into a fierce hatred of the aristocracy and the refractory clergy.

The sections of the center, the Arsenal, l'Île Saint-Louis, Nôtre-Dame, and Henri IV, peopled largely by lawyers, judges, and merchants, was strongly constitutionalist. But there was an extensive revolutionary area, centrally situated on the right bank of the Seine, comprising the sections of the Lombards, Mauconseil, Ponceau, Gravilliers, Bonne-Nouvelle, and the Postes. In the west the sentiment of the Oratoire, the Halle-au-Blé, Bibliothèque, Place de Louis XIV, Fontaine-Montmorency, and Tuileries was either constitutionalist or aristocratic. The prevailing character of the section of the Place Vendôme was largely determined by

the presence of the powerful Club of the Jacobins situated in it.

There was a considerable difference of aim between the moderate and extreme revolutionists. Some wished to have the king suspended, others deposed. Some advocated the establishment of a regency, possibly with the crown transferred from Louis XVI to the dauphin. But in general the cry for the removal of the king grew rapidly in volume. On July 31st the section of Mauconseil, situated north of the Halles, containing 1,700 active citizens, declared that "it no longer recognized Louis XVI as King of the French . . . and that it would rather be buried under the ruins of liberty than assent to the despotism of kings."

It was not until the first days of August, 1792, that the main force of the combined Austrian and Prussian armies under the generalship-in-chief of the Duke of Brunswick, reputed to be the best commander of his time, was ready to set out on its march for Paris. As pretext for the long delay the leaders of the coalition declared that it was expedient to give France time to lacerate herself. The two allies were still unwilling to give Russia a free hand in the east and they regarded each other with ill-disguised suspicion. But the powers looked forward to an easy victory and spoke complacently of "the promenade to Paris" and were already engaged in a discussion of the division of the spoils.

The attack on the Tuileries on August 10, 1792. The revolutionary leaders, to further their project of deposing the king, had paid agitators arouse the mob which marched against the palace of the Tuileries headed by the Marseillais and other hired brigands. After the king and royal family had taken refuge in the hall of the National Assembly the mob overcame the Swiss and National Guards and sacked the palace. From the painting by Jacques Bertaux in the gallery at Versailles.

CHAPTER XI

The Overthrow of the Monarchy

The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick and its effect. Petition of the sections of Paris for the king's deposition. Extent of insurrectional sentiment in Paris. Momentous resolution of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Sessions of the Assembly of August 8th and 9th. Preparations for the defense of the palace. Formation of the insurrectional communal council. Sounding of the tocsin; last night of royalty at the Tuileries. Arrest of Mandat by the commissioners of the sections and their usurpation of authority. Mandat's assassination. The king's indecision; his review of the defenders of the palace. Arrival of the federals at the Place du Carrousel. The king persuaded to seek refuge at the Assembly. The insurgents in the vestibule of the palace and the commencement of the conflict. The insurgents repulsed; arrival of columns of faubourgs and renewal of struggle; retirement of defenders. The king's order to cease firing. Dispersal and massacre of the Swiss and sacking of palace. The demands of the insurrectional commune and the decrees of the Assembly suspending the king, convoking a National Convention, creating the Provisional Executive Council, and establishing universal suffrage. Reception of news of August 10th throughout France and by the army; Lafayette's departure. Demand of populace and revolutionary commune of Paris for the punishment of the "conspiritors of August 10th." Attitude of Danton. Creation of the extraordinary criminal court. Clash of the Assembly and revolutionary commune.

The alliance of Prussia and Austria against France, which the court of Turin had now joined, was a formidable coalition, although it did not include all the powers whose cooperation might at one time have been expected. The death of King Gustavus III, at first designated as commander-in-chief of the army of invasion of France, kept Sweden from participation, while Spain remained aloof in consequence of the succession of the Count of Aranda, a prudent, mediocre man, as prime minister, in place of Count Florida-Blanca.

The Duke of Brunswick held the principal command of the army of invasion. Charles William Ferdinand, Duke

of Brunswick, nephew of Frederick the Great, was born at Wolfenbüttel, in his hereditary duchy, in 1735. He served in the campaign of 1757 in the Seven Years' War under the Duke of Cumberland, winning great renown at the Battle of Hastenbeck by a brilliant charge at the head of an infantry brigade, and distinguished himself in later engagements of the same war.

After the close of the Seven Years' War he visited England with his bride, the daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and also France, and was received with great respect in both countries. In Switzerland he made the acquaintance of Voltaire and he extended his travels as far as Rome, where he inspected the antiquities with the guidance of the famous Winckelmann.

He helped to bring about a great improvement in the condition of the Duchy of Brunswick which had suffered severely during the Seven Years' War and thus won much popularity. Succeeding to the ducal throne upon the death of his father, Charles I, in 1780, he became a conspicuous example of the benevolent despot of the eighteenth century, wise, economical, prudent, kindly, a model for other sovereigns. He was at the same time a field-marshal in the Prussian army and as such he led the Prussian expedition which restored the stadhouderate in Holland in 1787. His success, rapid and complete, was regarded as an example of perfect generalship. His military renown and reputation for liberal principles were so marked that, as already mentioned, the Comte de Narbonne, when minister of war in France, offered him the supreme command of the French army. He was looked upon as the foremost general of the day when the King of Prussia took the field against the revolutionary government of France.

The army assembled for the invasion of France consisted of about 42,000 Prussians and altogether 60,000 Austrians, Hessians, and French émigrés. According to the plan of

operations, the Duke of Brunswick with the Prussians was to cross the Rhine at Coblenz, proceed up the left bank of the Moselle, and advance by way of Longwy, Verdun, and Châlons against Paris. The Prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg with an Austrian corps was to operate on Brunswick's left in the direction of Thionville and Metz, while General Clairfayt with another Austrian corps crushed Lafayette before Sedan and Mézières, crossed the Meuse, and advanced by way of Reims and Soissons on Paris. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen with a third body of Austrians was to attack at the same time in the northwest from Flanders in the direction of Lille and thus contribute to the success of the central invasion by distracting the attention and resources of the French.

Allusion has been made to the deterioration of the old French army from insubordination and the suspicion and hostility prevailing between the troops and officers. But the emigration of a large number of royalist officers, which seemed for a time to threaten the army with complete disorganization, was not without a compensating advantage, for the places of the deserting aristocratics were necessarily filled by non-commissioned officers so that concord and freedom from prejudice eventually made up for the loss of experience and special training.

The abolition of the old provincial militia on March 4, 1791, deprived the army of an organized reserve of 60,000 men, but on the 25th of the same month the Assembly decreed the reorganization of the national forces into the three general classes of (1) the regular army of the line, 110,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 artillery, with a small engineer corps of officers, (2) the auxiliary army of 100,000 volunteers (but of whom 25,000 were intended for the marine forces), and (3) the National Guard, comprising all able-bodied active citizens between the ages of eighteen and fifty.

Provision was also made for the formation in active battalions of 26,000 of the National Guard of the frontier departments, to whom a decree of July 22d added 71,000, for garrison service, so as to leave the army of the line free for active operations.

The Constituent Assembly had hoped to have about 320,000 men under arms in case of war. But in reality at the beginning of hostilities France had scarcely 82,000 men fully equipped and ready to enter into line. The Prussian army numbered at the same time about 170,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry.

Forty-five new battalions of volunteers were decreed on May 5, 1792, and the declaration of "*La patrie est en danger*" put in a state of permanent activity all able-bodied citizens who had served in the National Guard. At the same time the incorporation of forty-two new battalions of volunteers was ordered to form the camp of 20,000 federals (five from each canton) at Soissons and half of the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the National Guard were called into active service.

After the opening events of the war, already briefly narrated, the morale of the French army had slowly improved under Lafayette's attentive care. Dumouriez, too, placed under Lückner, had encouraged the development of a feeling of confidence in the troops under him by a series of petty but successful engagements. The efforts to create the nucleus of an effective army had not been without appreciable results.

At this critical moment for the destiny of the French monarchy, as well as for the whole subsequent course of the Revolution, some of the infatuated French émigrés persuaded the Duke of Brunswick to take a step that hastened the downfall of the French throne and inspired the nation with a passionate determination to resist invasion. The émigrés

were deluded by the belief that France was held in subjection through intimidation by a small number of bandits and that by opposing terror with terror the nation could be brought to the feet of its sovereign. In contrast, doubtless, with the dictates of his humaner sentiment and better judgment, the Duke of Brunswick signed and published in his own name, when about to set out from Coblenz, July 25th, a threatening manifesto prepared by the Marquis de Limon, Pellenc, former secretary of Mirabeau, but then in the pay of the French court, and other émigrés. In this manifesto to the people of France, the Duke of Brunswick proclaimed the motives and intentions of the Emperor and the King of Prussia in invading their national territory.

It reproached "those who had usurped the reins of the administration in France" for having disturbed public order and overthrown the legitimate government of the country, committed repeated acts of violence against the king and royal family, wrongfully abolished the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and, as culminating outrage, unjustly declared war against the emperor and attacked his provinces in the Low Countries. It declared that the aim of the allied rulers was to put an end to the domestic anarchy of France, to arrest the attacks against the throne and altar, to restore the king to safety and liberty and to enable him to exercise his legitimate authority. "Convinced that the sane portion of the French nation" abhorred the excesses of the dominant faction and awaited with impatience the advent of a relief that would permit them to declare against the odious designs of their oppressors, the allied monarchs summoned them to return "to the call of reason and justice, of order and peace."

The allied rulers declared that they had no intention of enriching themselves by conquest. They did not intend to interfere in the domestic affairs of France beyond sweeping

away what the Revolution had accomplished and restoring the old government. The National Guard and existing authorities were made personally responsible for the maintenance of order until the arrival of the Prussian and Austrian forces. But those of the National Guard who resisted invasion and were taken with arms in their hands were to be treated as enemies and punished as rebels against the king.

The generals, officers, non-commissioned officers, and troops of the regular army were summoned to return at once to obedience to the king. The administrative officials of the various territorial circumscriptions were declared responsible with their lives and property for all acts of lawlessness or violence which they permitted or did not strive to the best of their ability to prevent. The inhabitants of the places which presumed to defend themselves were to be punished at once with the rigor of the law of war and their houses were to be demolished or burned.

The allied rulers held the members of the National Assembly, of the administrative bodies of the department, district, and municipality, the National Guard of Paris, the judges of the peace and other authorities responsible on their lives for the liberty, security, and respectful treatment of the king and royal family, and threatened to inflict an exemplary and never-to-be-forgotten vengeance on Paris, by giving up the city to military execution and complete subversion if the palace were again invaded or the least assault perpetrated against the royal family. They refused to recognize the validity of any legislation in France which did not emanate from the king while in enjoyment of complete liberty and they invited Louis XVI to repair under their escort and protection to some point near the frontier where he could freely gather the ministers and councillors of his choice about him and establish his administration.

If, as is commonly believed, Marie Antoinette and certain members of the court approved of this manifesto, they played into the hands of their worst enemies. Its arrogant tone alienated the loyal element that might have rallied around the king; it set revolutionary sentiment ablaze and exasperated the Parisians. The allied rulers professed to treat the French nation and its new authorities as rebels subject to military execution and left them no alternative but resistance to the last. According to a contemporary observer, the moral effect of this manifesto was worth an army of 100,000 troops to France.

To avoid the appearance of complicity, the king sent a message to the Assembly on August 3d declaring that he had made loyalty to the constitution the invariable rule of his conduct and promising to take "in concert with the Assembly every means to make the inevitable horrors of war profitable to the liberty and glory of the nation." But the manifesto was too obvious evidence of solidarity of the French court and the national enemies. It defied a spirited people to eject their king.

The manifesto was no sooner known in Paris than forty-seven of the forty-eight sections ostensibly declared for the deposition of Louis XVI. But it must be borne in mind that since the Assembly had decreed on July 25th that the sections were to sit "*en permanence*," (in permanent session), small minorities of extremists, agitators, or ruffians could, by wearing out the respectable members, pass motions giving their own wishes or designs the semblance of general approval. On August 3d Pétion appeared at the bar of the Assembly to present the petition for deposition drawn up by the commissioners of the sections at the Hôtel de Ville. He declared that he had come "to bring to this sanctuary of the laws the wish of an immense city . . . to denounce without rancor as without pusillanimous forbearance the

chief of the executive power." He enumerated the offences of Louis XVI and recalled the favors of the nation for him and his ingratitude. He held the king responsible for all the public calamities and declared that his conduct was a continual state of disobedience to the constitution. Finally, he demanded that the Assembly declare the king deposed and name a provisional executive composed of persons chosen outside its own membership, until the will of the sovereign people could be expressed in a National Convention to be held as soon as the safety of the state permitted.

The Assembly, which was still monarchist by a large majority, resenting the peremptory attitude of the sections and unwilling to adopt their unconstitutional proposal, referred it to an extraordinary committee. On the 4th the section of Mauconseil laid before the Assembly the revolutionary resolution which it had adopted on July 31st and the section of Gravilliers demanded the deposition and arraignment of Louis XVI, addressing the Assembly in a menacing tone:

"We still leave you, legislators, the honor of saving the country; but, if you refuse to do it, we shall have to undertake to do it ourselves."

But, on the report of the extraordinary committee, presented by Vergniaud, the Assembly annulled the measures of the section of Mauconseil as unconstitutional. In the *Chronique de Paris* Condorcet observed in reference to this decree: "Insurrection is the last resource of oppressed peoples. Before resorting to it there are other means. A people . . . is on the highroad to ruin if it prefers to means of action tempered by law others whose illegality alone might destroy all the fruit."

The departure of some of the federals for the camp at Soissons left a majority in Paris who had never intended to go to the front, but had come to the metropolis for the purpose of an insurrection.

Rouget de l'Isle singing "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," afterwards called the *Marseillaise*, before Mayor Dietrich at Strassburg. From the painting by I. A. A. Pils, in the Louvre.

The court was especially alarmed by the presence of the federals and vainly undertook to buy their support, distributing nearly a million livres for this purpose through the agency of the American Ambassador, Gouverneur Morris. It tried also to seduce Santerre and Danton. The latter is said to have received 50,000 écus on August 3d but without changing his attitude towards the king. Yet with sufficient resources the court could probably have paralyzed the revolutionary movement by buying up its leaders.

The court urged the departure of the Marseillais for Soissons, but instead the secret directory of the federals obtained from the municipality permission to transfer them from the Chaussée-d'Antin, too near the aristocratic National Guard battalions of the Petits-Pères and the Filles-Saint-Thomas, to the convent of the Cordeliers, in the revolutionary section of the Théâtre-Français, whither they were led by Danton and Chaumette on the night of August 4th–5th.

Notwithstanding the petition of the sections for the deposition of the king, these local divisions were as yet far from won over to the cause of insurrection. With the admission of the proletariat, the sectional assemblies were sinking into a state of turbulence and anarchy in which they were likely to voice the most contrary opinions and wishes according to the vicissitudes of the moment.

The federals had decided on August 5th as the date for insurrection, but were dissuaded by Pétion and Sergent. The counter-revolutionists and constitutionalists were still active in the sections. On the 5th the citizens of the section of the Bibliothèque repudiated before the Assembly the petition of the forty-seven sections which they had already signed. The section of the Arsenal followed their example, and there was strong opposition in other sections. The majority, twenty-eight of the forty-eight sections, rejected the revolutionary measures of the section of Mauconseil.

The sections of the Quinze-Vingts and Gobelins were eager for revolution, but Montreuil and Popincourt were reluctant and were only induced to participate on the 10th through the insistance of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. On the left bank, the Théâtre-Français, Luxembourg, and the Croix-Rouge were seething with revolutionary passion, but the Jardin des Plantes, Thermes de Julien, and Observatoire resisted. In the heart of the city the sections of Henri IV, Nôtre-Dame, l'Île Saint-Louis, and the Arsenal were strongly attached to the constitution and the cause of order and moderation. But the laboring quarter adjoining them on the north, the Lombards, Mauconseil, Ponceau, and Graviliers, was ready for action. With the exception of the sections of the Roule and the Place Vendôme, the western part of the city, the home of wealth and elegance, was opposed to any change. Thus there were at this time five revolutionary regions, the faubourgs of the east and southeast, separated by the Seine, the sections of the south grouped around the Théâtre-Français, the commercial and industrial district of the right bank, and the isolated sections in the west.

Undivided councils and a determined, spirited policy might yet have saved the day for the throne and constitution, but the weakness of the constituted authorities and the irresolution of the king were destined to complete the fatal effect of the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto.

The revolutionary contagion was constantly spreading in the sections. After a spirited struggle the constitutionalists lost the executive bureau of the section of the Arsenal at the beginning of August. In the section of the Bibliothèque the representatives of finance and commerce were replaced by the former actor, Collot d'Herbois, and the poet, Marie-Joseph Chénier, zealous revolutionists. As the timid constitutionalists abstained more and more from the turbulent meetings of the sections, the revolutionists gained ground rapidly.

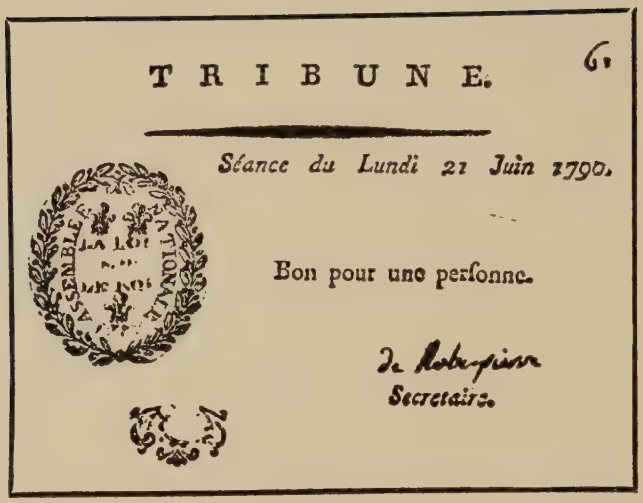
On the 4th the Quinze-Vingts (Faubourg Saint-Antoine) adopted the ominous resolution, and informed the other sections, "that they would await patiently and in peace and vigilance until the following Thursday, August 9th, at eleven o'clock in the evening, the decision of the National Assembly (to depose the king)," failing which, they would at midnight, an hour later, sound the tocsin, beat the general alarm, and rise together.

Everything was now moving towards the threatened upheaval. The court and the ministers, the department, and the council general of the commune of Paris expected the outbreak on the 9th. By a bare majority, the Committee of Twelve of the Assembly reported in favor of bringing accusation against Lafayette. The deliberation of this question in the Assembly on the 8th occasioned a passionate debate. Discussion turned on the constitutional right of the general to present a petition in the name of his army. Lafayette's enemies reproached him with using the language of an émigré. But Vaublanc defended him vigorously, declaring that he only exercised the right of any petitioner to complain of the ministers and to denounce an arrogant club, his only fault having been the telling of the truth. The proposal to arraign Lafayette was finally rejected by a vote of 406 to 224. This exasperated the extremists and provoked an explosion of wrath at the Jacobin Club.

The session of the National Assembly of the 9th opened with the reading of addresses from various directories of departments expressing themselves against any change in the constitution. Letters and deputations were still received from some of the sections, protesting against the petition presented by the Mayor of Paris and swearing to remain faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. Communications were also read from several absent deputies, who had been menaced or maltreated by the public after the close of

the session of the evening before for having voted against the accusation of Lafayette. They declared that they waited until the Assembly could deliberate freely before reappearing. The public galleries were filled with an excited populace who shouted approval at mention of injuries inflicted on recalcitrant members, and in the midst of an indescribable tumult the deputies cried together: "We shall not deliberate until we are free!" The Right rose and asked whether the mayor had means of assuring the liberty of the Assembly. The Left rose in turn and asked whether the king had means to save the country, and whether the Assembly, which trembled before Lafayette, could save France. The commotion was at its height when Roederer, Procureur Général Syndic of the department, appeared and announced that forty-seven of the sections were under arms, that the mayor had assisted in their warlike preparations, and that they would sound the tocsin at midnight if the Assembly had not by that time proclaimed the king's deposition. Divided and helpless before the approaching tempest, the Assembly adjourned at seven on the evening of the 9th without having adopted any definite measures.

Some of the king's friends tried to persuade him to seek safety in flight from Paris to the Château Gaillon, offered as a place of refuge and rallying point by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, but the officers charged with investigating the situation in Normandy reported that the Norman population showed very little disposition to support actively the royal cause. De Joly, Minister of Justice, advised the king to make a complete and final break with the reactionary party and declare solemnly that he would act with the nation. But the king rejected all such advice, declaring that his conscience did not permit him to yield any more but compelled him to adhere to his oaths.

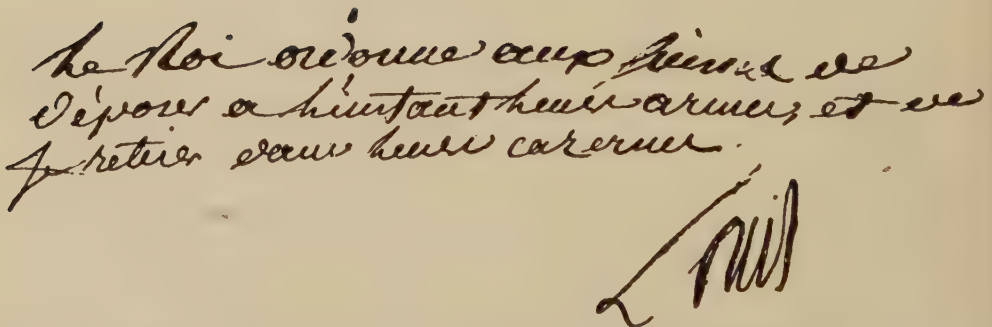

TRIBUNE. 6.

Séance du Lundi 21 Juin 1790.

Bon pour une perſonne.

De Robespierre
Secretaire.

Card of admittance to the National Assembly for the sitting of June 21, 1790. Signed by Robespierre as secretary.



Facsimile of the message, written entirely by the king, ordering the Swiss Guards to cease firing on the mob during the attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792. From the original in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

Preparations were made for the defense of the Tuileries. On the 9th Galliot de Mandat, commandant general of the National Guard, who was devoted to the constitution, firm and decisive, transferred the Swiss Guard from Rueil and Courbevoie and lodged them in the stables of the Hôtel de Brionne fronting on the Cour de Marsan at the Tuileries. They numbered about 900 and were well-disciplined and thoroughly reliable. Besides the Swiss, the garrison of the palace comprised 900 mounted gendarmes and thirty foot, wavering in sentiment, but commanded by Colonel Carle of the National Guard, who was a devoted supporter of the constitution, about 2,000 of the National Guard, and two or three hundred Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, former body guards, variously armed. Many of the devoted royalist nobility grouped themselves about their king. But of the National Guard only the aristocratic battalions of the Filles-Saint-Thomas and the Petits-Pères were thoroughly dependable. In all there were only about 1,500 men of incontestable loyalty and they were inadequately supplied with ammunition. Pétion, Mayor of Paris, was ostensibly on the side of law and order. But his tortuous conduct on this occasion is a most repulsive illustration of cowardice or duplicity. By his directions the Swiss Guards coming from their barracks at Rueil and Courbevoie were admitted through the barriers to the city, but by his orders the Swiss Guards were supplied with only thirty rounds of ammunition and the other defenders of the Tuileries with only three.

The palace of the Tuileries was fronted on the east by three courts, the Cour des Princes next to the river and quay, the Cour Royale in the middle, and lastly the Cour des Suisses. The principal court, the Cour Royale, opened onto the Carrousel, which was confined by large buildings, easily approached from the quay, but otherwise communicating

with narrow lanes. In his dispositions, Mandat made the most of these circumstances. The courts were strongly guarded by the Swiss and grenadiers and artillery of the National Guard. A part of the National Guard with four guns was posted in the Garden of the Tuileries. Two outposts were placed at critical points in Paris, one at the Arcade Saint-Jean, a narrow opening behind the Hôtel de Ville, near the Rue Saint-Antoine, through which the insurgents of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine were expected to attempt to pass, the other at the Pont-Neuf, by which the insurgents of the left bank would naturally pass to unite with their comrades of the right to reach the Tuileries.

On the eve of insurrection the popular quarters were in a fever of excitement. Orators harangued the crowds in the assemblies and the open places. The sections met at eight o'clock, with no longer any distinction of active and passive citizens. The Théâtre-Français proposed that the sections should each send three delegates to the Hôtel de Ville to form a central commission for their common interests, to intimidate and, if necessary, supersede the communal council general, which was largely composed of constitutionalists. Control of the Hôtel de Ville was essential for the success of insurrection. Once in control of the municipal authority, the revolutionists could depose Mandat, assume control of the National Guard, and deprive the Tuileries of the greater part of its defenders. By eleven o'clock the commissioners of the sections had begun to gather at the Hôtel de Ville. The council general of the commune then in session was following the progress of events with increasing anxiety. In the absence of Pétion, the mayor, who had gone to the Tuileries, its chairman was Cousin, a professor at the College de France. It endured the taunts and abuse of the public in the galleries. It vainly sent municipal officers to prevent the ringing of the tocsin. But on their return they reported

evidence of reluctance and hesitation in the revolutionary movement.

Danton himself, as substitute for the procureur général, is said to have given the signal to the bell-ringers and at a quarter before twelve the mournful notes of the great bell of the Cordeliers with that of Saint-André-des-Arcs fell on the ears of the expectant city. It was the death-knell of the old French monarchy. The churches of Gravilliers, of Mauconseil, of the Lombards, and of the Enfants-Trouvés in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine replied. All the east of Paris, except the Temple, the Place Royale, and the Hôtel de Ville, had now been won for the revolution. All of the left bank except the Jardin des Plantes, the Thermes de Julien, and the Quatre-Nations, was ready for insurrection. The popular region north of the river awaited with impatience the signal for action.

By three o'clock in the morning nineteen sections were represented by their commissioners at the Hôtel de Ville. By seven there were eighty-four commissioners, representing twenty-eight sections. They called themselves "the new commune" and installed themselves in a hall adjoining the one in which the council general was still sitting. They were in large part obscure individuals of the petty bourgeoisie, in many cases members of the electoral assembly of the department which chose the administrative officials and the judges.

The king and royal family passed this last, fateful night of the old monarchy in the council hall of the Palace of the Tuileries, surrounded by the ministers and a group of devoted courtiers and retainers, wavering between hope and anxiety. Roederer came with the directory of the department. Pétion, repeatedly summoned by Mandat, unwillingly repaired to the palace about midnight. Entering with his eternal unctious manner, he declared that "in a moment

of crisis, the danger of which he could not conceal, he had hastened to come in person to watch over the safety of the king and the preservation of his family." The court was still ignorant of the extent of his duplicity. Mandat reproached him for the lack of powder for the defenders of the palace.

"I have only three rounds to fire," said he, "and still a large number of my men have not a single round and they grumble."

Fearing that he might be maltreated or forcibly detained, the mayor went down to the terrace of the garden, where the threatening remarks of the guardsmen of the battalion of the Filles-Saint-Thomas frightened him and he sent his colleague Mouchet to the National Assembly, where some of the deputies had collected, to induce it to summon him officially before it.

"If you do not instantly summon the mayor to your bar," declared Mouchet to the Assembly, "he will be assassinated."

The Assembly, therefore, summoned Pétion to appear before it and the decree was read on the terrace of the Tuileries by the light of torches. Pétion, finally allowed to depart by the National Guard, went to thank the Assembly and then, neglecting his duties as mayor and president of the council general of the commune, took refuge in his official residence in the Neuve-des-Capucines, where he was nominally consigned to custody under guard as a pretext of absence during the perilous events that followed.

In the meantime, the commissioners of the sections, under the influence of Danton and Manuel, were determined to arrest Mandat and remove from the Pont-Neuf the detachment intended to intercept the insurrectionary column from the left bank. At two A.M. an officer of the gendarmerie brought to the communal council general an order, signed

The king's Swiss Guards defending themselves on a staircase in the Palace of the Tuileries during the Communist insurrection on August 10, 1792. From the painting by H. Motte.

by Mandat, to fire on the people from the rear. The council, yielding to the demands of the commissioners, then summoned Mandat to appear before it.

The commander was reluctant to leave his post of command at the Tuileries, but Roederer persuaded him to go in the hope that the mayor and council might yet take steps to prevent seditious gatherings and avoid a hostile collision. Accordingly, Mandat went to the Hôtel de Ville without escort, in ignorance of the formation of the insurrectionary council, and appeared before the council general, where Cousin asked him by what order he had doubled the guard of the palace. Mandat replied that he had done it by written order of the mayor. Pétion had in fact three days before given him a written order to resist attack by force. Mandat was led into the hall of the commissioners of the sections where Huguenin, chairman of this new Assembly, likewise demanded an account of his conduct. Mandat made the same reply and when Huguenin questioned the truth of his statement, he added that Pétion's order was among his papers at the palace of the Tuileries. The commissioners, with assumed deference for legal forms, resolved to send a delegation of six of their number to question Pétion.

After Huguenin had asked Mandat whether he had not detained the mayor at the palace and the latter had denied the charge, the commissioners decided to refer the matter to the National Assembly and the council general, but they divested Mandat at once of his command, appointing Santerre in his place, and authorized the sections to choose the commanders of their own contingents of the National Guard.

Rossignol, a young man who was an accomplice of Danton, then informed the commissioners that a letter of Mandat ordering that the troops should fire on the people from the rear had been laid before the council general. The letter was brought and read before the commissioners; it was as follows:

"The commander general orders the commander of the battalion on service in the town to disperse the column of the mob marching on the palace (château) with the National Guard as well as the gendarmerie, on foot or mounted, attacking it in the rear."

A cry of indignation arose. The commissioners, exclaiming against such infamy, cowardice, and perfidy, ordered Mandat arrested and taken to the prison of the Hôtel de Ville. Then, throwing off the mask of respect for the law, the commissioners informed the council general that it was provisionally suspended, replying to the vain protests of the councillors that when the people are in a state of insurrection they take back all their delegated powers. The council general yielded ignominiously and dispersed and the commissioners installed themselves in the hall of the commune.

The insurrectional commune had no sooner seized the power about six in the morning than they decreed that Mandat should be transferred, "for his greater security," from the prison of the Hôtel de Ville to that of the Abbey near Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Some time later, when Mandat was taken from the Hôtel de Ville, presumably in execution of this decree, Rossignol shot him through the head and killed him instantly as he was descending the steps of the building. The loss of Mandat, as the conspirators had anticipated, disorganized all the plans for the defense of the Tuileries.

In the meantime the king had been pacing the floor of the great rooms of the palace in an agony of indecision. He knew that the garrison was capable of a stout defense, but his conscience recoiled from the thought of bloodshed. After hours of mental conflict, he yielded to the entreaties of the royalists and decided that the palace should be defended by force of arms.

About daybreak the insurrectionary bands of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, possibly 15,000 strong, and those of Saint-Marceau, about 5,000, began to move in the direction of the Tuileries. Never had there been such a movement and commotion in the eastern part of Paris. About seven the Marseillais, led by their chief Moisson, and the National Guard of the Gobelins, commanded by Alexandre, reached the Carrousel. Roederer then proposed that the king should retire to the National Assembly. Although the queen and two of the ministers, Dubouchage and Bigot de Sainte-Croix, objected that this would compromise the royal dignity, Roederer despatched two emissaries to induce the Assembly to send a deputation to accompany the king, but there were as yet scarcely enough members present to deliberate and they made no response to the proposal.

At the suggestion of some members of the directory of the department, the king decided to review the forces for the defense of the palace. The spirit of the Swiss and of the aristocratic battalions of the National Guard was excellent. They greeted the king with cries of "Long live the king!" "Down with the factions!" and "Down with the Jacobins!" If the king had known how to respond to these acclamations with ringing words and had placed himself at the head of his loyal troops with a heroic, defiant gesture, the mob might have been dispersed, the monarchy rescued and strengthened, and an orderly administration restored. But his manner was dull and uninspiring. His irresolute, disconsolate appearance made an unfortunate impression. Some of the battalions of the National Guard were irritated by the presence of so many royalists and nobles in the palace. The gunners of Val-de-Grâce posted in the Cour Royale cried, "Long live the nation!" When the king entered the garden a battalion from the Faubourg Saint-Marceau was just passing and raised hostile cries: "Long live the nation!"

"Long live Pétion!" "Down with the veto!" "Down with the traitor!" Unfortunately this revolutionary battalion was posted on the terrace overlooking the Seine, where its insurrectionary spirit spread to the other troops. When the king returned from inspecting the posts at the swing bridge which led to the Place Louis XV, this battalion had moved to the Pont-Royal and had trained its guns on the palace. Two other battalions left the courts of the palace and took up a hostile position on the Place du Carrousel. As the king returned to the royal apartments pale and dejected, the queen exclaimed: "All is lost, this sort of a review has done more harm than good."

Manuel, the procureur of the commune, had ordered the departure of the detachment and guns from the Pont-Neuf and the passage of the river was free for the insurgents of the left bank. The outpost at the Arcade Saint-Jean had been withdrawn or dispersed. The insurrectionary columns were approaching the palace. The federals of Marseilles and Brittany, forming the advance-guard of the faubourgs, had already reached the Place du Carrousel and trained their guns on the palace.

Roederer and the members of the executive directory of the department approached the insurgents, told them that such a great multitude could not have access to the king, and invited them to appoint a deputation of twenty to be the bearers of their demands. But they would not listen. Addressing the forces posted outside the palace Roederer ordered them, according to the law, to repel an attack by force, but only a fraction of the National Guard seemed disposed to obey and the gunners defiantly replied by unloading their cannons.

Roederer and the members of the department returned in haste to the palace to declare that resistance was useless and to urge the king and royal family to take refuge in the hall of the National Assembly.

"Sire," said Roederer, addressing the king in a most urgent tone, "Your Majesty has not five minutes to lose; there is no longer any safety for Your Majesty except in the National Assembly; the opinion of the department (executive directory of the department) is that you should go there without delay; you have not in the courts a sufficient number of men for the defense of the palace; their attitude is no longer well-disposed. At the mere mention of defensive action the gunners unloaded their cannons."

The king declared that he had not seen many people in the Place du Carrousel and the queen added with vehemence that the king had forces to defend the palace. But Roederer insisted again that all Paris was in revolt and that resistance was useless. The king looked at him fixedly for a few seconds, then turning to the queen he said, rising: "Let us go."

His family gathered round him.

Madame Elisabeth asked the procureur-syndic: "Monsieur Roederer, will you answer for the king's life?"

"Yes, madame," replied Roederer, "on my own."

But when, a little later, the queen repeated the question, saying: "Will you answer for the king's life and that of my son?" Roederer replied gloomily: "Madame, I can only answer for dying at your side." But he survived to become a senator under Napoleon and a peer under Louis-Philippe.

The king, the queen, their two children, Madame Elisabeth, Madame de Tourzel, and the ministers left the royal apartments about 8.30 A. M.

"But there are not many people in the Place du Carrousel," repeated the king.

"Sire," replied Roederer, "the faubourgs are about to arrive."

At Roederer's earnest request none of the court was allowed to accompany the royal family to the Assembly. The

king took leave of the faithful defenders who were eager to fight for him. The royalists were indignant at his departure, believing that a determined resistance to the insurgents would have been successful. The attack on the palace did not begin until about an hour after the king's departure. He not unnaturally supposed that since the movement was directed against himself, his departure would remove all cause for violence. He is said upon leaving the palace to have given strict orders to the Swiss not to fire on the insurgents and to offer no resistance, thereby depriving the insurgents of any pretext for aggression.

The king led the way to the hall of the Assembly. The queen followed with Madame de Tourzel, holding the dauphin by the hand between them. Madame Elisabeth, Madame Royale, and the Princesse de Lamballe walked behind them with one of the ministers. An escort of Swiss and National Guards marched in line on either side of the royal family. They passed down the broad central alley of the Tuileries Gardens and then turned into a pathway leading to the right under the ancient chestnut trees in the direction of the Porte des Feuillants.

The leaves, parched and brown from the unusual heat, were already falling and the little dauphin amused himself by kicking them against the limbs of his companions.

"The leaves are falling early this year," remarked the king.

The military escort left the royal family at the Terrace of the Feuillants, and a hostile throng confronted them outside the gate. There was a delay until a delegation of the deputies came to escort them into the Assembly. The crowd pressed forward howling imprecations:

"No, they shall not enter the National Assembly! They are the cause of all our troubles! This must have an end! Down with them!"

The queen was overwhelmed with insults.

But finally the deputies prevailed on the crowd to let the party pass and the king entered the hall of the Assembly with the queen and dauphin, followed by Roederer and five or six unarmed National Guardsmen.

"Sirs," said Louis XVI, addressing the Assembly, "I have come here to prevent a great crime, and I think that I cannot be more in safety than among you, sirs."

Vergniaud, who by a sinister coincidence was also to be chairman of the Convention on the day when the condemnation of the king was proclaimed, replied for the Assembly:

"Sire, you can count on the firmness of the National Assembly; its members have sworn to die in defense of the rights of the people and the constituted authorities."

Since it was unconstitutional for the Assembly to deliberate in the presence of the king, the royal family was conducted to the loge of the logographe or official reporter of the proceedings of the meetings behind the president's chair, where, however, they could see and hear everything.

The cruel instincts of the mob had already been whetted by the sight of blood. Among the frenzied multitude outside the Porte des Feuillants there were doubtless emissaries of the Duc d'Orléans, instigators to violence. An unrelenting enemy of the duke, the young journalist François Louis Suleau, who had abandoned the revolutionary movement and devoted his talent and energy to the support of the monarchy and opposition to the Orléanist intrigues, appeared on the Terrace of the Feuillants and was recognized by some members of the crowd. The infamous Théroigne de Méricourt, a demon of revolutionary fury, acting doubtless as agent of the duke, but with personal grounds of hatred for Suleau, whose pleasantries and imputations outraged her vanity and self-esteem, led a group of ruffians against the imprudent journalist. They seized Suleau, who resisted

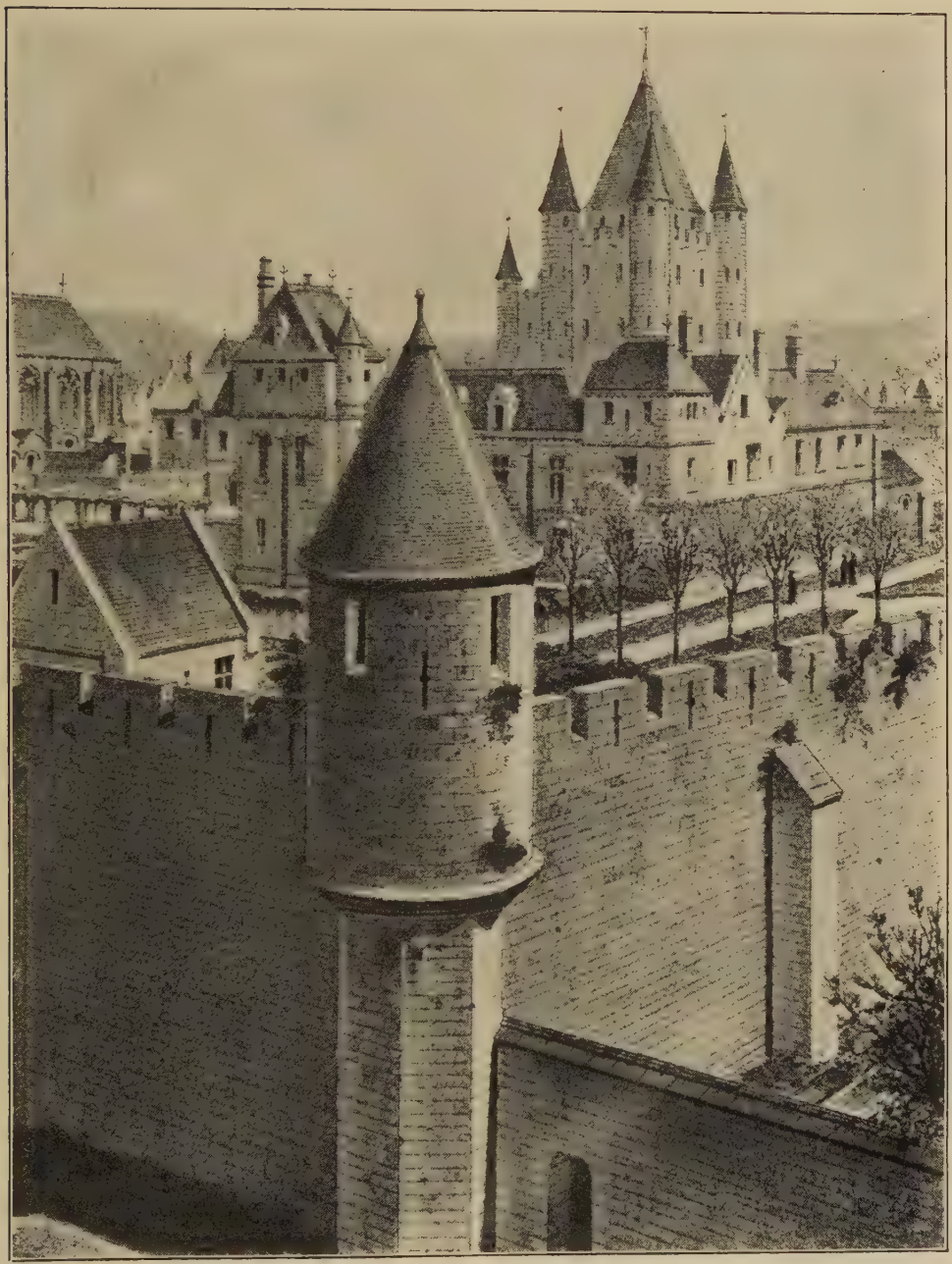
fiercely. Several royalists or former members of the Body Guard were slain about him and finally he fell pierced with many dagger-thrusts. His body was hacked to pieces in the Place Vendôme and the head was displayed on a pike just as the royal family were entering the Manége.

The departure of the king left the troops about the palace in a state of perplexity and uncertainty. Some were for returning to their barracks, declaring that since the king and royal family had gone there was nothing for them to defend. The gendarmes stationed in the Place du Louvre withdrew to the Palais-Royal, leaving an approach to the Tuileries open to the insurgents. The nobles in the royal apartments rallied around the heroic old Marshal de Mailly, determined to resist to the last.

"Here are the gallants! Here are the last of the nobility," he cried. "The post of a general and of his companions-in-arms is where the throne is attacked and in peril!"

The two battalions of Swiss and the gendarmes who guarded the courts withdrew under orders into the palace, closing and fastening the doors of the vestibule behind them. Soon the Porte Royale leading from the Place du Carrousel into the central court was opened and the federals of Marseilles and Brest with insurgent National Guards poured through. They endeavored to seduce the defenders of the palace, crying to members of the National Guard: "Brothers come with us." The Swiss standing at the windows of the palace, who had no hostile feelings for the people, replied with conciliatory gestures to the overtures of the insurgents and threw down loaded cartridges as evidence of their pacific intentions.

The federals beat on the doors of the vestibule of the palace demanding admission. The doorkeepers withdrew the bolts and the crowd of insurgents advanced into the main vestibule. The gunners of the National Guard joined forces



The Temple.

This drawing shows the *Donjon*, or Grosse-Tour, where the royal family was imprisoned.

with them, drew out their pieces, and trained them on the palace. Many of the gendarmes left the palace, their caps raised on the points of their bayonets, crying, "Long live the nation!" Only the Swiss, a small number of the National Guard, and about 200 nobles and faithful retainers remained to defend the palace.

The insurgents advanced to the foot of the great staircase, where they were held at bay by the resolute appearance of a detachment of Swiss. Several officers of the Marseillais and of the sections mounted the stairway to parley with the Swiss. Westermann, an Alsatian, appealed to the officers in French and addressed the soldiers, who were from Freiburg, Lucerne, and Berne, in German, urging them not to sacrifice themselves at the bidding of their officers. But the Swiss remained immovable.

"We are Swiss," replied a sergeant, "and Swiss only lay down their arms with their lives. . . . If the regiment is not needed, let it be legally ordered to retire, but we will not leave our post and we will not be disarmed."

Their officers had given orders to the Swiss to fire if the insurgents entered. As was quite natural in the tense situation, a shot was suddenly fired; from which side, contemporaries were unable to agree in stating. It was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The Swiss sentinels on the stairway poured volleys of musketry into the crowd and the Swiss on the upper floors with the loyal National Guards and nobles joined in the fusillade, firing from the balconies, roofs, and windows onto the insurgents in the courts.

The crowd recoiled, was suddenly filled with panic, and fled madly from the vestibule and courts, leaving about a hundred killed and wounded. The Swiss pursued, clearing the courtyard and advanced into the Place du Carrousel. The people ran frantically in all directions, crying wildly against the treachery of the Swiss. About two hundred

Swiss, led by the officers Dürler and Pfyffer, with the four guns of the battalion of the Val-de-Grâce abandoned by the insurgents, continued the pursuit. But some of the insurgents took refuge behind the buildings on the other side of the Place du Carrousel and returned the fire of the defenders of the palace.

There had been unexpected delays in the arrival of the columns from the faubourgs. Santerre, apprised on the march of his appointment to the general command of the National Guard, deserted the column of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine and hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, declaring that his post was at headquarters. He took no direct part in the action of the day. The command of the insurgents was left in the hands of Alexandre, Westermann, and Lazowski.

The arrival of the faubourgs renewed the courage of the fugitives and the assault was resumed. The Swiss, whose ammunition was almost exhausted, fell back step by step. The insurgents set fire to the buildings about the courtyards of the palace.

The Assembly had scarcely recovered from the commotion caused by the arrival of the king when it heard the rattling of musketry and roar of cannon in the direction of the palace. Word came that the Swiss were massacring the people, but also that the palace was about to be carried by storm. In utter impotence the Assembly passed a decree placing "under the safeguard of the people of Paris the security of persons and property." A deputation of twenty members was sent to the palace and one of twelve to the Hôtel de Ville. Panic-stricken deputies appealed to the king to intervene in behalf of the people. The king, believing that his order not to fire had been disobeyed, despatched another order commanding the Swiss to cease firing and join him at the Assembly.

General d'Hervilly was directed to carry the king's order to the Swiss. He ran hatless and unarmed in the midst of the firing, shouting the king's order to the Swiss under Dürler in the Place du Carrousel and then to the others fighting in detached groups. But with the confusion and noise of battle he could not make them all hear.

Partly from compliance with the king's order and partly from the exhaustion of their ammunition, the Swiss drew back for the retreat. One column under Dürler and Diesbach made its way through the garden to the hall of the Assembly and were lodged by decree of the Assembly in the neighboring church of the Feuillants. Several of the officers, including Dürler and Pfyffer, made their escape the following night in disguise. The troops of this detachment with those who had previously escorted the king to the Assembly, 250 to 300 in number, were afterwards tried by court martial and for the most part condemned to death.

A group of about sixty Swiss marched straight westward towards the Place Louis XV, in the direction of their barracks, and were picked off by the insurgents firing from cover of the trees on their flanks. Passing the swing bridge the survivors drew up for defense under the statue of Louis XV where they were surrounded by mounted gendarmes and National Guards, taken as prisoners to the Hôtel de Ville and led before Huguenin, who after a summary hearing condemned them to death. They were immediately executed, their bodies piled into rubbish carts, despoiled, desecrated, and even mutilated. The Swiss who remained in the interior of the palace tried to escape by the Cour de Marsan and the Rue de l'Echelle, but the greater part were caught and massacred, their remains being defiled and mutilated.

The mob bursting into the palace vented their rage in an orgy of destruction. They rushed through the apartments, destroying works of art, smashing furniture, and shattering

in particular "the mirrors before which Antoinette had too long studied the appearance of hypocrisy which she displayed to the public." The populace butchered indiscriminately the inmates of the palace, gentlemen, Swiss, body guards, and servants. Some were thrown from the upper windows and received on the pikes of the insurgents below. Among the victims was the unfortunate Clermont-Tonnerre, one of the champions of democracy in the Constituent Assembly. Throughout the palace and garden the people gloated in fiendish glee over the gory bodies of the slain. The cellars of the palace were pillaged and much of the crowd after sating their bloodthirsty instincts indulged in a drunken debauch.

But in some cases the victors showed a spirit of humanity. The leaders of the Marseillais ordered their men to spare women and one of them interfered in time to save the life of Madame Campan. Lemonnier, the king's physician, found in his study, was escorted in safety to his home. "Comrades," said his protector, "let this man pass; he is the king's physician, but he is not afraid; he is a good fellow." The insurgents took to the National Assembly, to the communal council, or to the sections the sums of money that they found. They put to death thieves caught in the act of pillaging.

The conflict lasted about two hours and a half. About 600 of the Swiss had fallen in battle or were massacred during the retreat. The losses of the loyal National Guards and other defenders and the royalists, retainers, and servants slaughtered by the mob would bring this number up to about 800. The number of killed or wounded on the side of the insurgents was reported to have been 376, that of the dead alone was given as 98.

The great chiefs of the popular movement, such as Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, remained at a judicious distance

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent.
From the painting by Jean-Baptiste Greuze.

The Marquis de Lafayette.
From a pencil sketch made by Du Van Nier in 1790.

from the scene of insurrectionary operations, doubtless wishing to save appearances in case the uprising failed.

As soon as the popular victory had been won, the insurrectionary commune sent a deputation to lay its demands before the Assembly. Not much more than a third of the latter were present, 284 out of a total of 750 deputies. Nearly all of the Center and Right had remained away fearing popular violence. The deputation from the Hôtel de Ville, "new magistrates of the people," as they styled themselves, appeared before the trembling legislators, demanding the deposition of the king and the convocation of a National Convention. This term was borrowed from the United States, where it designated an assembly for framing or revising the constitution. Guadet, who had replaced Vergniaud in the chair, received the usurpers with flattering expressions of praise. Their demands were referred to the extraordinary committee.

The committee withdrew at once to an adjoining room and drew up the decree, which was reported by Vergniaud and immediately adopted. Except that it substituted suspension for deposition, the Assembly very meekly carried out the demands of the revolutionary commune, sanctioning its own doom by the convocation of the Convention.

The Assembly, "considering that the dangers of the country had reached their height" and could only be averted through removal of the chief source of the nation's misfortunes, mistrust of the conduct of the chief of the executive power, suspended the king provisionally from his functions until the National Convention should decide on the measures which it felt it its duty to adopt "to insure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality." Any public functionary, soldier, officer, or general, who left his post during this period of alarm, was declared infamous and a traitor to his country. The decree provided that the

king and royal family should remain at the hall of the Assembly until they could be safely transferred to the Palace of the Luxembourg which had been unoccupied since the departure of the Comte de Provence, and the authorities of the department were ordered to make it ready for their reception.

But a delegation from the section of the Quatre-Nations came to represent that the Luxembourg was unsuitable because of the possibility of escape from it through the catacombs. Hence the Assembly chose instead the Ministry of Justice in the Place Vendôme. But the commune, fearing an evasion, demanded the choice of the Temple. The Assembly obeyed and placed the king in the custody of the commune. He was lodged in the great tower of the Temple which was surrounded by a deep moat and closely guarded.

Through the results of the uprising of August 10th, as sanctioned by the decrees of the Assembly, the sanctity of the Constitution of 1791 was destroyed. The deputies took a new oath from which mention of the king was omitted:

"In the name of the nation I swear to maintain liberty and equality or to die at my post."

By another decree submitted by Guadet in the name of the extraordinary committee the Assembly declared that the ministers had lost its confidence and that it should immediately choose others.

By 222 votes out of a total of 284 cast, Danton was elected Minister of Justice. He arrived at power, according to his own expression, through the breach of the Tuileries. His election to the ministry was the formal acknowledgment of the revolution of August 10th. The three ministers dismissed by Louis XVI in June were recalled—Roland to the portfolio of the Interior, Clavière to Finances, and Servan to War. To these there were added Monge for the Marine and Lebrun for Foreign Affairs. These six ministers formed the

Provisional Executive Council. The function of President of the Council was exercised by the different ministers in rotation for periods of a week.

But Danton was the virtual head of the Executive Council. He combined in his nature the calm of a statesman and the fiery vehemence of a demagogue. His eloquence was spontaneous, impetuous, rich in original and striking figures. His concise, energetic speeches impelled to action. He was the man who could exalt all the available forces to the supreme effort required to save the nation and the Revolution at this moment of greatest peril.

The Assembly voted that decrees already passed but not sanctioned by the king should have the force of law. This referred to the decrees proscribing recalcitrant priests and establishing the camp before Paris.

The Assembly established universal suffrage, thus realizing the principle of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, that all the citizens have the right to participate in person or through their representatives in the formation of the law. The decree conferred the right to vote on all male Frenchmen twenty-one years of age, having a fixed residence for at least a year, with the exception of domestic servants, who were not regarded as capable of complete independence. But suffrage remained indirect, the primary assemblies sending their delegates to the electoral assemblies, which chose the deputies to the Convention.

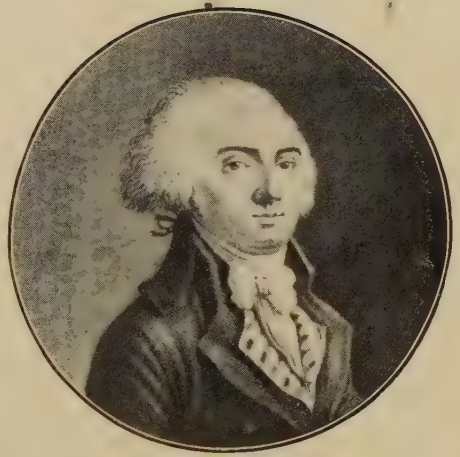
The session of the Assembly of August 10th was prolonged until three o'clock on the following morning. The deliberations were carried on within sight and hearing of the king who sat with apparent imperturbability while decrees were passed proclaiming his own perfidy, abolishing the royal power, and consigning himself and the royal family to imprisonment.

There were now three rival powers in the state: the Assembly, which had assumed for the moment the executive power in addition to the legislative; the Provisional Executive Council, upon which the Assembly had conferred a sort of dictatorship; and the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, which had been recognized by the Assembly, and in which, after elections held by the sections on August 11th, 12th, and 13th, the Jacobins held complete sway.

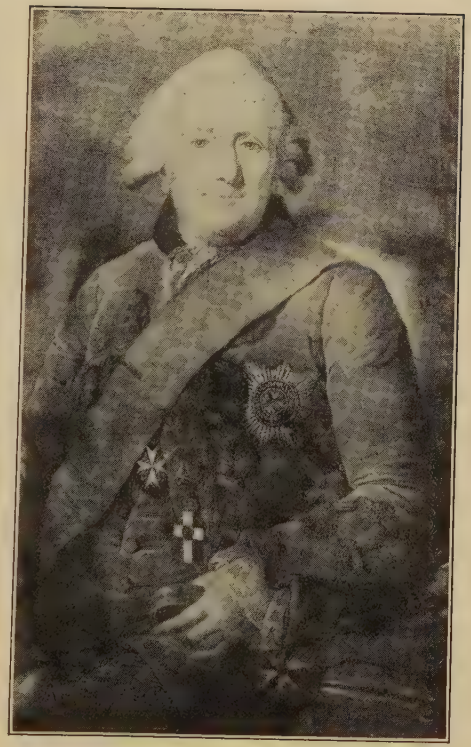
The commune was practically sovereign in Paris. Its members set to work with frantic energy, in continual session, eating and sleeping at the Hôtel de Ville. It suspended passports to leave the city until further order, that suspected royalists and aristocrats might be apprehended; suppressed reactionary journals, confiscating their presses and type which were distributed among the revolutionary sheets; placed official seals on the homes and effects of suspected individuals, as servants of the king and aristocratic officers of the National Guard; arrested the ministers who had been discharged on August 10th as well as the former minister, Montmorin; forbade priests to wear the clerical costume except when performing their religious functions; ordered the convents evacuated within three days and "seals placed on these haunts of aristocracy;" abolished clerical perquisites; and commanded that the silver in the churches should be melted down, and metal gratings utilized for making pikes, and bronze objects, and that "crucifixes, lecterns, angels, devils, seraphim, and cherubim," should be melted and converted into cannon.

Only with great difficulty could the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Council maintain a control over general affairs in face of the indefatigable energy and determination of the Commune of Paris, backed by the overwhelming force of popular opinion.

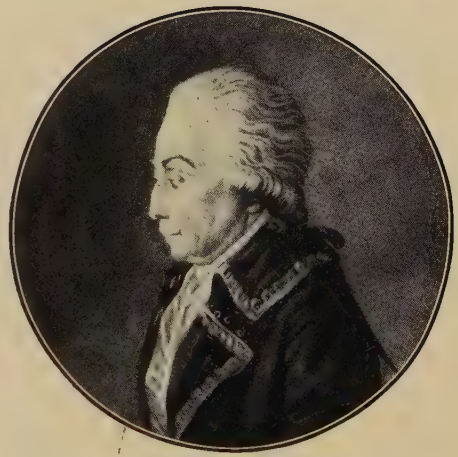
The intense agitation of the Parisian multitude did not vanish suddenly. During the night of August 10th–11th



Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, Mayor of Paris in 1792. From the engraving by Levachez.



Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick. From a painting, artist unknown, in the gallery at Versailles.



Marshal Nicolas Lückner, commander of the Army of the Rhine. From the engraving by Levachez.

troops of patriots passed through the streets of the city, crying vengeance, tracking down and arresting or massacring any of the Swiss whom they encountered. The crowd in a violently anti-monarchial mood, threw down the statues of Henry IV at the Pont-Neuf, of Louis XIII at the Place Royale (now Place des Vosges), of Louis XIV at the two Places Louis XIV (now Place Vendôme and Place des Victoires) and at the Hôtel de Ville. They effaced the words "king" and "royal" from inscriptions on public monuments, destroyed the crowns and fleurs-de-lis as royal emblems, and removed the shop signs of the royal purveyors. Revolutionary journals, such as the *Revolutions de Paris* and Marat's *L'Ami du Peuple*, publication of which was now resumed, fanned the flames of popular hatred.

News of this revolution was received with varied feelings throughout the departments. Opposition was very strong in the north, especially in the department of the Ardennes, where it was supported by the presence of Lafayette. The directory of this department protested vigorously and tried to form a coalition of the neighboring departments of this region against it.

In the east, the departmental administrations of the Haut and Bas-Rhin, the Moselle, the Meurthe, the Meuse, and the Haute-Marne were opposed to the new revolution, and they were supported by numerous refractory priests in the departments of the Bas-Rhin and Moselle and by many officers at Strassburg, Wissembourg, and Landau. The municipal administration of Strassburg shared the feeling of the department, but generally the populations and the municipal administrations of Alsace and Franche-Comté and those of Metz, Thionville, and Châlons-sur-Marne accepted the new order.

In Brittany, which had sent many federals to Paris, Brest and Nantes favored the new revolution. The nobility

and refractory priests had not yet converted rural Brittany to counter-revolutionary sentiments. Normandy, conservative for the most part, especially the city of Rouen, maintained an attitude of aloofness. Chartres and Poitou disapproved the proceedings in Paris, but the department of the Sarthe congratulated the Assembly warmly for what had occurred. The departments of the Indre, Creuse, and Cantal in the center were determined adversaries of the democratic movement. But the influence of Bishop Grégoire kept the authorities of Loir-et-Cher faithful to the Revolution. Along the route from Paris to Lyons, with a few exceptions, the people celebrated the changes with great joy. The municipality of Lyons acclaimed the innovations, but the department showed displeasure. Dauphiné and Provence were mainly Jacobin in sentiment. The southwest was very divided.

The Assembly took vigorous measures against the administrations which resisted the changes. It suspended the directories of Rhône-et-Loire, the Moselle, the Aisne, and the Somme, which had declared the decrees of August 10th illegal. Other directories restrained their objections from consideration for the national defense. Besides, the publication of papers found at the Tuileries compromising for the court strengthened democratic and anti-monarchical feeling.

The attitude of the army was the chief concern of the government. In this connection we should note some changes in the higher command of the French forces along the frontier. At the beginning of hostilities Marshal Rochambeau commanded the Army of the North, which was divided into two masses, one of 24,000 men under Lieutenant-general Arthur, Comte de Dillon, brother of Théobald, Comte de Dillon, who was massacred by his troops in April, in the camps of Maulde, Famars, and Pont-sur-Sambre, and the

other, of 19,000, at Sedan. At that time Lafayette commanded the Army of the Center of 17,000 men which extended from Montmédy to the vicinity of Bitche, and Marshal Lückner commanded the Army of the Rhine, 15,000 concentrated in the region of Lauterbourg and 9,000 scattered along the Rhine.

Later, Rochambeau resigned from dissatisfaction with the political situation and was replaced by Lückner in command of the Army of the North. Biron was substituted for Lückner with the Army of the Rhine, but was placed under the superior orders of Lafayette. Then Dumouriez received the command of the camp of Maulde under Lückner.

About the middle of July Lafayette, probably wishing to be in closer touch with the course of events in Paris, proposed to Lückner that they two, with their respective armies, should exchange their positions and this extraordinary maneuver was carried out, involving the greater part of both armies and leaving the frontier unprotected for several days. Arthur Dillon henceforth held command of the camps of Dunkerque, Maulde, Pont-sur-Sambre, and Maubeuge under Lafayette, and Dumouriez remained in immediate command of Maulde. Lückner took up his headquarters at Metz and Biron remained in command of the Army of the Rhine.

Lafayette received news of the events of Paris at Sedan on the 11th. As chief of the constitutionalist party, devoted to his oaths, he was impelled to defend the throne and the dismantled constitution. He concerted with the municipality of Sedan and the department of the Ardennes and ordered Dillon at Pont-sur-Sambre and Dumouriez at the camp of Maulde to march on Paris. Dumouriez, absorbed in his plans of campaign, ignored the order, but Dillon had his officers take the oath of loyalty to the king and suggested the march on Paris. The three commissioners

sent by the Assembly to the army were arrested on the 14th and imprisoned in the Tower of Sedan. But the Assembly despatched three other commissioners, deprived Dillon of his command, decreed that accusation should be brought against Lafayette, and appointed Dumouriez commander-in-chief of the Army of the North. Perhaps at this moment Lafayette was too much taken up with the strictly legal aspect of affairs and did not appreciate the need of extraordinary means for saving France in the perilous situation in which she was placed. He beheld the fondest hopes of the friends of liberty destroyed, and the state invaded by the demagogic tyranny of the Jacobins, but he failed to understand the fatal situation that had made their victory inevitable. The enlightened bourgeoisie which overthrew the Old Régime and vanquished the privileged classes had waned in energy and vigilance and seemed no longer capable of the audacity, alacrity, and vigor needed to make head against the combined forces threatening France and the Revolution. It required the advent of a fresh class, filled with the same passionate enthusiasm for the results of August 10th that the older bourgeoisie had felt for those of July 14th.

Lafayette could not concur with the new order. He could not continue his former rôle or defend the existence of a just and upright party, but one superseded by the course of events, without threatening the existence of his country and the Revolution to which he was attached. The prolongation of his resistance would precipitate a civil war between the army and the civil authorities at a time when it was doubtful whether the union of all available resources would avail to save the state. The army of invasion was already on the frontier. Lückner, who had at first approved Lafayette's attitude, retracted publicly and took the oath of the Assembly in the presence of the municipal authorities of Metz.

Lafayette decided to yield to destiny. He left his army, accompanied by twenty-two officers, including Latour-Maubourg and Alexandre Lameth, and set out for Holland across Belgian Luxembourg, intending to go to the United States. But he was arrested with his companions by the Austrian authorities, treated as a prisoner of war, imprisoned at Magdeburg and later at Olmutz. The British Parliament made representations in his favor but it was not until the Treaty of Campo-Formio that he was delivered from his prison by Bonaparte. During four years of harsh imprisonment, suffering great privations, and ignorant of the fate of his country, he showed the most heroic courage. He might have purchased his liberty at the price of certain recantations, but he preferred to remain immured rather than sacrifice in any respect the cause which he had embraced.

Dillon remained at his post. The commissioners who interviewed him at Valenciennes, chiefly concerned with the preparations for defense, were satisfied with his explanations and did not put into execution the decree against him. He wrote a letter to the Assembly on the 21st in which he swore fidelity to the nation and to the law and promised to "maintain with all his power liberty and equality and to fight to the last for the defense of the country." Some officers refused to take the new oath and were discharged, but by the end of August all reason for anxiety in regard to the fidelity of the army had vanished. The army accepted the results of the revolution of August 10th and thought only of defending the country.

Wrath and terror still held sway in Paris. The rage of the populace sought a fresh outlet and royalists had to keep in close hiding. Even Feuillants and moderates hesitated to appear in public. Documents found in the Palace of the Tuileries offered evidence that the civil list had been used to support counter-revolutionary propaganda and to pay the

chiefs and troops of the émigrés. The people of Paris believed that the court, the émigrés, the royalists, the imprisoned suspects, and even the moderates had made common cause with the Prussians and the Austrians against them. They were convinced that the court was armed on August 10th to hold the capital in check until the arrival of the Prussians and Austrians and that their enemies had conspired to massacre them and reduce the survivors to their former servitude. This was the so-called conspiracy of August 10th and the populace demanded the punishment of the chief conspirators, threatening to execute justice themselves unless the guilty were tried and condemned without delay.

The violent party which had gained possession of the Commune of Paris and thus dominated the city, insistently urged the popular demand for the establishment of a special court to judge the alleged conspirators. The hesitant attitude of the Assembly, which clung to the semblance of independence and tried to recall the people to moderation, provoked threatening communications from the Hôtel de Ville.

"As citizen," said one member of a deputation of the commune before the Assembly, "as magistrate of the people, I come to announce to you that to-night at midnight the tocsin will be rung; the general alarm will beat. The people is weary of not being avenged; fear lest it executes justice itself."

Danton, the virtual head of the state, regarded every question with reference to its bearing on the supreme problem of national defense. At this point it is indispensable to understand the character of Danton. He offers a curious parallel with Mirabeau and has been called "the Mirabeau of the populace." His countenance was similarly marred. He had the same powerful voice, impetuous gestures, audacious eloquence, and dominating manner. Their vices were

similar. Both were formidable when bending all their energies to some definite end, but when this had been attained, both were inclined to lapse into sloth or self-indulgence. Both were sincerely attached to the Revolution, but without dogmatic adherence to specific political theories. They came to the front in different periods and in very different circumstances. It is not improbable that if some accident had brought Danton's genius into play earlier in the Revolution, he would have thought it better for the country to maintain the monarchy and might, like Mirabeau, have offered his services to the crown.

Danton possessed a keen sense of reality, an appreciation of the essential. He preferred the survival of France to the development or supremacy of any particular political creed. He realized that the commune was now the one strong, determined factor in the state. He aimed to curb and moderate it as much as possible, to induce the Assembly to accept the inevitable, and by means of necessary concessions to save as much order and legality as possible, and to keep the public powers in outward unity until the invasion had been repulsed.

Unity of defense had to be maintained and civil war prevented. The people and commune had to be conciliated, and for this reason it was permissible to sacrifice some of the reactionaries to satisfy the rabble and its leaders.

It was useless to bring the supposed conspirators of August 10th before the ordinary criminal courts, because the judges of these were suspected by the populace. On August 11th an extraordinary court was practically agreed to by the Assembly, and on the 17th the decree was adopted establishing the special "criminal court for judging in final instance the crimes relative to August 10th and other related crimes." Electors chosen individually by the sections

of Paris formed the electoral assembly for the election of the eight judges and equal number of substitutes forming this court, which sat in two sections.

This first extraordinary revolutionary tribunal commenced its activity at once. D'Anglemont, agent of the émigrés, and Laporte, intendant of the civil list, were its first victims. The guillotine, the new instrument of death devised by the two physicians, Guillotin and Louis, with the view of reducing to a minimum the sufferings of the condemned, was set up permanently by order of the commune. One scaffold in the Place du Carrousel was reserved for political executions, the other in the Place de Grève in front of the Hôtel de Ville served for ordinary criminals.

But the new court was far too mild to satisfy the exigencies of the inflamed populace. During its entire period of activity, down to November 30, 1792, it condemned only twenty out of sixty-one persons brought before it, and of these only seven were political prisoners. Some of the acquittals provoked widespread indignation, as that of Montmorin, Governor of Fontainebleau and relative of the former minister, who, although absolved, was kept in prison for preservation from popular violence, a vain precaution.

At Danton's solicitation, the Assembly authorized the communal officers to make "domiciliary visits," claimed by them to be a necessary means for the detection of hidden weapons and suspected persons. These domiciliary investigations were made on the night of the 29th–30th. The barriers of the city were closed and guarded. The outlets by the Seine were barred and a military cordon was extended around the adjoining communes of the suburbs, so that none could escape. For eighteen hours Paris was cut off from the outside world and circulation was arrested

Lafayette and his officers leaving the camp before Sedan on their way to Holland. From the engraving by Berthault after the drawing by Swebach-Desfontaines.

Louis XVI and his family being taken to the Temple, August 13, 1792. From the engraving by Berthault after the drawing by Swebach-Desfontaines.

within the city, guards armed with pikes patrolled the streets, while houses were systematically searched by the commissioners of the different sections. All persons suspected or denounced were led before the committees of the sections for examination. Those retained in custody were taken to the Hôtel de Ville and from there distributed to the different prisons, which were filled to overflowing. Probably not fewer than 3,000 persons were arrested.

The arrogance and tyranny of the commune created a partial reaction in feeling. Several sections resisted its dictatorial methods. Commissioners of the section of the Lombards, who were members of the council general, denounced the usurpations of the commune at the bar of the Assembly. Roland accused the commune of interfering with the food supply and Servan declared that it disorganized the service of the war offices.

Irritated at the arbitrary arrests and haughty attitude of the commune, the Assembly decreed its dissolution and ordered elections for a new provisional council general within twenty-four hours. But without separating or complying with this order, the commune asked Pétion to head the deputation presenting its demand for the repeal of the decree. Pétion, unwilling to commit himself as to the legality of the insurrectional council, requested Tallien to read the address.

"Legislators," it ran, "the provisional representatives of the Commune of Paris have been calumniated; they have been judged without being heard; they come before you to demand justice. Called by the people on the night of August 9th–10th to save the country, they have done what their duty demanded. The people did not limit their powers; it said to them: 'Come, act in my name, I shall approve whatever you do.'"

The petition was referred to a committee. But through Danton's intervention a reconciliation was effected. On the 31st the commune made a semblance of yielding and the Assembly passed a decree maintaining the council general, but making the increase of its duties the pretext for doubling its number and therefore retaining the elections for the choice of the additional members.

CHAPTER XII

The September Massacres

The diplomatic and military situation in August, 1792. The French frontier crossed on the 19th. Capitulation of Longwy and of Verdun. Effect of the news of the investment of Verdun on the spirit of France. Discussion of defensive measures in the Executive Council. Danton's view. Marat, the apostle of terror. Sanguinary project of the radical revolutionists dominating the commune. The Vigilance Committee and the preparations for the massacre of suspects. Danton's position in respect to the massacres. Organization of the band of assassins. Publication in Paris of news of the investment and imminent fall of Verdun and proclamation of the commune. Danton's famous address before the Assembly, September 2d. The tocsin, signal for bloodshed in Paris. Massacres at the Abbey of Saint Germain, Carmelite Convent, Salpêtrière, Bicêtre, Conciergerie, and elsewhere. Statistics of the slain. Circular of the Vigilance Committee to the departments. Attempts of Robespierre and Marat to involve Roland and Brissot. Roland's letter read in the Assembly. Reaction of opinion. Massacres outside Paris. Influence of the September massacres.

As danger from the advance of the hostile armies became imminent, the military situation exercised an increasing influence on the progress of events in Paris, where political life came to be very largely conditioned by the measures deliberately taken by the government to enable the country to resist invasion or by the impulsive reaction of the populace to fear or resentment inspired by the approach of the enemy.

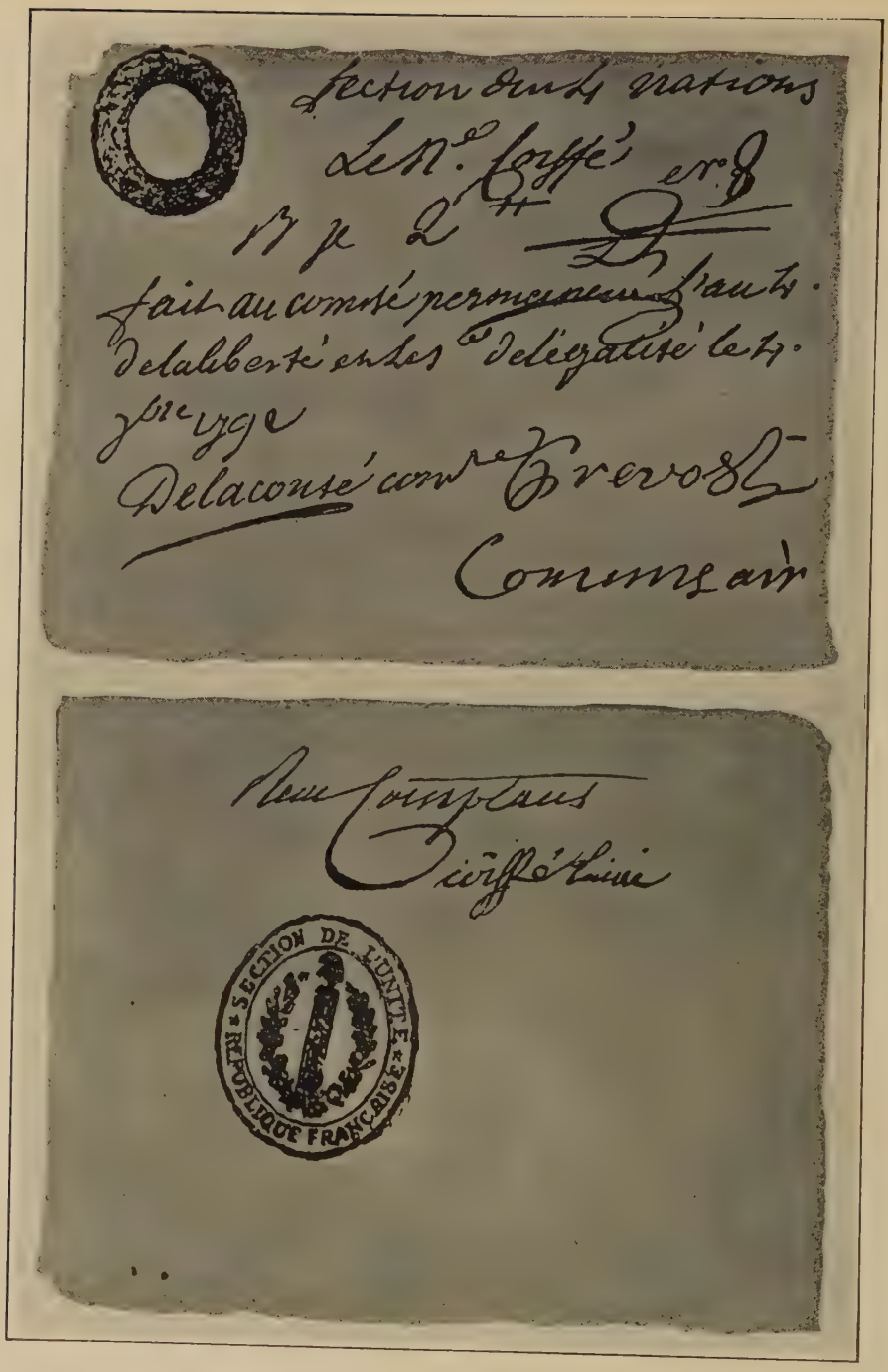
The revolution of August 10th very nearly led to a general combination of Europe against France. The kings were moved by the insult to royal majesty and feared a renewal of the revolutionary propaganda carried on or encouraged by the French abroad. But the French government still hoped to find allies in its struggle with the hostile coalition.

It strove to counteract the unfavorable impression which the recent upheaval had created by a circular to the different courts prepared by Talleyrand and signed by Lebrun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which explained the revolution in cleverly reassuring terms. In it the French government reiterated its pacific intentions, declaring that it would severely punish any Frenchmen who tried to interfere in the domestic concerns of any allied or neutral people.

This communication was addressed particularly to Great Britain.

When Danton sought refuge in England after the riot of the Champ-de-Mars in July, 1791, he made his exile the occasion for a privately assumed political mission, the purpose of which was to secure the neutrality, and if possible the friendship, of Great Britain in the war which the extreme revolutionists in France hoped to bring about with Austria. He undertook to enlist the sympathy of the Whigs for revolutionary France. He was already a friend of Thomas Paine. He had interviews with Fox, Sheridan, and Lord Stanhope for the purpose mentioned. The Girondins, arrived in power, were eager for the goodwill of Great Britain and for a British alliance they were willing to make concessions of colonial territory.

But the Marquis of Chauvelin, French Ambassador at the Court of St. James since April, 1792, was so distressed at news of the insurrection of August 10th in Paris that he wrote to Lord Grenville, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, informing him in very undiplomatic fashion that criminal and disastrous events had taken place in Paris, that the security of the National Assembly had been violated, and that men of turbulent passions had misled the multitude. He besought the King of England to use his influence to prevent the hostile armies from invading France and thereby giving occasion for fresh excesses and compromising the



Order, countersigned by Delaconté and Prevost and receipted on the back, for sums paid assassins for massacres in September, 1792. Twenty other receipted orders were destroyed when the mob burned the Préfecture of Police of Paris in 1871. Facsimiles were published by Granier de Cassagnac in his *Histoire des Girondins et des Massacres de Septembre.*

safety of the French king and queen. The Marquis de Chauvelin had scarcely despatched the note when he repented the step. He called on Pitt and asked that the note be returned and its contents never mentioned. His request was complied with but not before a copy of the note had been made.

In view of the situation created by the events of August 10th the British cabinet decided that the British Ambassador, Lord Gower, should be recalled from Paris and the following note of instructions was accordingly sent him:

"Under the present circumstances, as it appears that the executive power has been withdrawn from His Most Christian Majesty, the credentials under which Your Excellency has hitherto acted can be no longer available; and His Majesty considers it proper on this account, as well as conformable to the principle of neutrality which His Majesty has hitherto observed, that you should no longer remain in Paris. It is therefore His Majesty's pleasure that you should quit it and repair to England as soon as you conveniently can after procuring the necessary passports. In conversation state that His Majesty intends to remain neutral as to the internal government of France; that it is no deviation from this that he should manifest his solicitude for the personal situation of Their Most Christian Majesties, and that he earnestly and anxiously hopes that they will at least be secure from acts of violence, which could not fail to produce a universal sentiment of indignation through every country in Europe."

George III took the stand that there was no longer any government in France which his government could recognize. The Executive Council was only provisional, the king was only provisionally suspended from his functions, the Legislative Assembly was on the point of dissolution, and the National Convention had not yet been formed. All

government in France was in a transitory state. Lebrun, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, writing from Paris on August 23d, regretted Lord Gower's recall, but expressed satisfaction at the British king's assurance of neutrality. The Marquis de Chauvelin lingered on in England, fearing lest, if he asked permission to present letters of recall, the king would refuse him audience.

A secret French agent had been sent to England under the influence of Danton to disavow all subversive propaganda, to reassure British opinion regarding French designs respecting Holland, and to prepare an alliance at the expense of the Spanish colonies in America. The French government felt that it could treat Spanish possessions or interests without compunction since Spain no longer concealed her hostile feelings. A British alliance was the pivot of Danton's foreign policy and Talleyrand, who had been the most important member of the French mission in England, was about to return to London in a private capacity to work for its accomplishment. Nor had the French government abandoned all idea of an eventual alliance with Prussia in spite of the state of hostilities between the two countries.

The Duke of Brunswick advanced slowly and seemed to hesitate at the frontier, as though divided between his philosophic sentiments and the duties of a task which he had accepted with repugnance. He complained of the inadequacy of the Austrian support. The Prussian army could only count on the immediate support of 29,000 Austrian troops, 14,000 under Hohenlohe-Kirchberg and 15,000 under Clerfayt, together with 5,500 Hessians and 4,500 French émigrés. The combined forces for the invasion of France from the northeast numbered 81,000.

The émigrés insisted that the French army was completely disorganized by the desertion of so many of its officers, that the allies would be greeted as liberators and would receive the

enthusiastic support of the population, and that the campaign would be a mere military promenade to Paris. The émigrés were a troublesome contingent, most of whom, as members of the nobility, regarded themselves as qualified to be officers.

The strength of the available French forces at the point chosen for the invasion would of course be far inferior to that of their opponents. Furthermore, the French army was still far from an efficient state of organization. Servan had striven laboriously, but in vain, to equip properly the fortresses in the border zone of France. There was lack of subordination. Orders were neglected or improperly carried out. Local administrations interfered with the provision and service of equipment and supplies. The military administration was hampered by lack of funds in spite of two new issues of assignats since the declaration of war, one for 300,000,000 on April 27th and another for a like sum on July 31st. The base camp at Soissons, which had been created to receive and prepare the federals and send them forward to the other camps on the frontier, was destitute of arms and supplies and the recruits were living there at the expense of the inhabitants.

The effective execution of military plans was exposed at all times to political hazard and intrigue. The members of the insurrectionary Commune of Paris were far less concerned about the war and the defense of France than about the maintenance of their own authority and securing their own victory and that of their friends and associates in the approaching elections. They foresaw their overthrow and destruction unless they could control the Convention. In his journal and by placard Marat told the Parisians repeatedly that the decree sending the federals from Paris to Soissons was treasonable, that the real enemy was in the capital, and that they must watch the Assembly and the prisoner in the Temple.

At last the Prussian army crossed the French frontier on August 19th near the village of Rodange, in the northeast, where France bounds on Luxembourg, a date and place to be remembered. The delay in the movement of the allies had probably been calculated in view of the complicated political situation in France. News of the fall of the royal palace seems to have been the decisive motive for their advance. The Duke of Brunswick could hardly overlook the defiant response of the Parisians to his arrogant manifesto.

Lückner, a Bavarian by birth, who had served against France in the Seven Years' War, now replaced by Kellerman in the command of the French Army of the Center and sent by the Executive Council on the 24th to Chalôns with the empty title of generalissimo to organize recruits. The Duke of Brunswick therefore was about to have before him an army that had just changed its commander.

The invaders, after routing the French advance-guard in a cavalry encounter near Fontay, invested Longwy on the 20th and the French commander capitulated after a bombardment of two days. But, contrary to expectation, the population of the countryside was generally unfriendly. In return the invaders and émigrés pillaged the peasants and conducted themselves as in a hostile land and it was soon clear that the task which the Duke of Brunswick had undertaken would require the conquest of all France.

But the allies advanced rapidly, brushing aside all resistance, and on the 30th the Prussians together with Hohenlohe-Kirchberg's corps invested Verdun. Planting their artillery on the hills which look down from all sides on Verdun and have since become the chief bulwarks of the fortress, the allies opened fire on the city. There was a considerable seditious, royalist element in Verdun which urged the impossibility of holding out, magnified the slight damage done by the bombardment, and clamored loudly for capitulation.

Finally, Beaurepaire, the commandant, took his own life or was assassinated on the night of September 1st–2d and Verdun surrendered on the following day.

The Duke of Brunswick counted on a great moral effect from the capture of Verdun, which opened the road to Paris. France was in fact deeply moved by the tidings from Verdun, but instead of intimidation the news called forth a spirit of wrath and determination. The news that Verdun must fall reached Paris on the night of September 1st–2d, a few hours before the time appointed for the election of deputies for the National Convention, and aided the extremists in the execution of their diabolical plan of striking terror into the hearts of all their possible opponents by a wholesale massacre.

Since the revolution of August 10th no pains had been spared to nourish the spirit of vengeance among the multitude in Paris. The revolutionary press, which was alone allowed to appear, demanded bloody retribution for the crimes of the royalists. Innumerable pamphlets were filled with evidence of the treasonable guilt of the court.

On Sunday, August 26th, a festival in honor of the dead of August 10th was celebrated in the Tuileries Gardens. The federals, volunteers, and various official bodies, including the deputies of the Assembly led by their president, assisted at this solemn ceremony, surrounded by an immense crowd of National Guards in uniform, citizens armed with pikes, and women clad in white with black sashes. The procession placed banners and wreaths on the altar of the country, moving to the accompaniment of Gossec's death march. Marie-Joseph Chenier pronounced the eulogy of the dead. This event tended, like the news from the army, to arouse the spirit of the populace. Paris cried for vengeance on the Prussians, the foe without, and on the aristocrats and royalists, the enemy within.

News of the capitulation of Longwy and the advance of the Prussians on Verdun created consternation in the Executive Council and a meeting was at once called for the discussion of the situation at the committee of defense. Roland, Clavière, and Servan, moved no less by a desire to escape the dictatorship of the commune as by fear of a siege, urged that the seat of government be transferred to Blois or Saumur, while others wished to combat the enemy under the walls of Paris.

Danton opposed both suggestions.

"You are aware," he said, "that France is in Paris. If you abandon Paris to the enemy, you give up yourselves and you give up France. It is in Paris that you must maintain yourselves by every means; I cannot accept the plan which takes you hence. The second proposal seems no better. It is impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital. August tenth has divided France into two parties, one of which is attracted to royalty, while the other wishes a republic. The latter, but a small minority in the state, as you must admit, is the only one on which you can count to fight. The other will refuse to march; it will agitate Paris in favor of the enemy while your defenders, placed between two fires, are staking their lives to repel them. If they succumb, as seems to me to be certain, the destruction of France and of yourselves is inevitable; but if, contrary to every expectation, they return victorious over the coalition, this victory will also be a defeat for you; for it will have cost you the lives of thousands of brave men, while the royalists, more numerous than yourselves, will have lost none of their force or influence. My advice is that to thwart their measures and arrest the enemy, we must overcome the royalists by terror."

The members of the Executive Committee shuddered at the awful implication of these words, but they were reassured

by the courage and energy of their chief and decreed the additional levy of 30,000 men in Paris.

With relentless, frenzied energy Marat dashed off his repeated exhortations for blood, for the slaughter of the royalists and Swiss, for wholesale massacres, another Saint Bartholemew. He was the soul of the commune, the inspirer of the system that produced the September massacres and the subsequent Reign of Terror. His deformed, malignant appearance befitted this demon of atrocities; a dwarf, less than five feet high, with monstrous head, distorted nose, sallow complexion and haggard eye, whose anxious glance, quick jerky movements, moments of furious exaltation, frantic excitement, and chronic insomnia were indications of a disordered brain.

The supremacy of the faction which usurped the municipal government of Paris on August 10th rested on fear. Fear of the alleged relentless designs of the royalists gave it its hold over the populace. It counted on the terror which it could inspire to restrain or overwhelm its rivals and enemies. The invasion of France by foreign armies professing to act in behalf of the King of France and for the reestablishment of the Old Régime doubled the effect of all the extravagant rumors of conspiracy and treason that were spread broadcast in Paris. It gave passionate force to the popular cry for vengeance and prepared the mind of the multitude for an example of bloodshed that would overawe the chiefs of the government and overwhelm all opposition to the commune.

The commune appointed a Comité de Surveillance, or Vigilance Committee, for protection against conspiracy and treason, chief among its members being Panis and Sergent. The meetings for the discussion of the scheme for a general massacre of suspected persons were also attended by Marat, Danton, Manuel, Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Tallien,

and sometimes Robespierre. The essential part of the plan was to clear the prisons of the suspects arrested since August 10th and mainly during the house to house search of August 29th–30th.

The Vigilance Committee was dismissed on August 30th and the council general charged Panis and Sergent to submit on the next day the names of those whom they chose to be associated with themselves in a new committee, which was to consist of only four members. Accordingly, this new committee was made up of Panis, Sergent, Duplain, and Jourdeuil. But on September 2d, "in view of the crisis of affairs and the important labors to be performed," the committee resolved to add to its number six assistant administrators, Lenfant, Guernieur, Leclerc, Duffort, Marat "l'Ami du Peuple," and Desforgues.

Proscription lists were drawn up to which some names were undoubtedly added from motives of personal spite or covetousness. Emissaries were sent to the sections. Several sections asked that the aristocrats be escorted to the frontier and expelled from France. Five or six sections demanded the slaughter of the conspirators in the prisons. They urged that no traitors should be left to open the doors of the prisons and spread desolation and death in Paris after the loyal Parisians had marched to the frontier. The suggestion of the section of Poissonnière was most drastic. It declared that the best means of averting danger was to administer justice immediately on all malfactors and conspirators detained in the prisons and to compel the nonjuring priests and the wives and children of the hostile element to march in front of the troops advancing against the invaders as a rampart for them.

Danton has been charged with the chief responsibility for the orgy of bloodshed that ensued. It is urged against him that he assisted in the perpetration of the crime or at least

condoned it, that he had previous knowledge of the plans and made no effort to prevent their execution. Probably Danton had no desire to disclaim a share in an enterprise that suited so well the reputation for audacity in which he took pride. Like nearly all the great political leaders of the time in France, Danton was inordinately ambitious for power and far from fastidious in his choice of means for winning and keeping it. But Danton used the power once gained to save France. He was not naturally bloodthirsty or cruel, but he judged his measures solely from the point of view of utility, and he was seemingly indifferent to the human suffering caused by the use of means which he believed necessary for the attainment of a useful purpose. His policy was the result of a dispassionate calculation of the factors and conditions with which he had to deal. We must appreciate the peculiar situation in which Danton was placed. He was leading member of a provisional government exercising a precarious authority. To challenge the insolent commune was to invite a catastrophe and imperil the national defense. The commune, moreover, was made up of Danton's political associates. In the Executive Council he was a Jacobin among Girondins. He needed the support of the faction that the commune represented, and the directing spirits in the commune regarded the massacres as indispensable, demanded them, and incited the multitude to demand them.

It is scarcely conceivable that Danton should have prevented the massacres. Furthermore, his abstention from the meetings where the plans were formed would have left the organizers without a moderating influence. Robespierre would have included his political opponents, Roland and Brissot, in the list of the proscribed, but Danton prevented it.

"You know that I do not hesitate at crime when it is necessary," Danton declared, "But I disdain it when it is useless."

No doubt Danton had his own reasons for concurring in the destruction of many particular individuals and in the diffusion of a salutary terror at just that time. The composition and attitude of the coming National Convention was a matter of concern to him no less than it was to the commune. Then, too, by openly condoning the sacrifice of hundreds towards whom he was either hostile or indifferent, Danton was in a position to save some whose murder at this time would have been no less calamitous than inhuman.

Billaud-Varenne, one of the most ferocious organizers, undertook with Maillard, well-known for his part in the capture of the Bastille, to form the band of executioners. The assassins, not over three hundred in number, were recruited from the Marseillais, released convicts, small tradesmen, and the populace. They were paid by the commune and abundantly supplied with wine. Some were induced by these rewards, others, perhaps, by the additional hope of booty, but some, no doubt, were moved by sincere indignation and the belief that they were performing a meritorious civic duty. Their imaginations were of course inflamed by horrifying accounts of the designs of the political prisoners. The bloody work itself seems to have induced in them a half demented state of demoniacal excitement.

The committee planned to give the massacres the semblance of legal form by setting up a tribunal in each prison where a judge presided with the proscription lists made up in the secret conferences. But the slaughter was to be represented as due to the spontaneous impulse of an enraged, indignant people, stirred by the approach of the invading army and the discovered collusion of the royalists with the enemies of the nation.

The committee took the precaution of withdrawing from the prisons on August 31st and September 1st a large number of persons held in custody for debt or minor offenses,

so as to separate them from the chief malfactors and counter-revolutionists who were marked for destruction.

Pamphlets were distributed to the public on September 1st proclaiming: "Great treachery of Louis Capet. Plot discovered for assassinating all good citizens during the night of the 2d and 3d of this month."

The people were informed that the conspirators had arranged to have the doors of the prisons thrown open so as to let the incarcerated aristocrats fall upon them. When news of the investment of Verdun was published on the next day, the cry was raised that the wives and children of the defenders of the country were at the mercy of the aristocrats in Paris.

The commune ordered the alarm guns to be fired, the tocsin rung, and the barriers closed, and issued the following proclamation:

"Citizens, the enemy are at the gates of Paris; Verdun, which arrests them, can only hold out eight days. The citizens who are defending it have sworn to die rather than surrender, which means that they form a rampart for you with their bodies. It is your duty to fly to their relief. Citizens, march instantly under your flags; let us assemble at the Champ-de-Mars; let an army of 60,000 men be formed at once. Let us go to expire under the blows of the enemy or exterminate them under our blows."

At the same time Danton delivered his famous address before the Assembly:

"It is very gratifying, Messieurs, for the ministers of a free people to have the task of announcing to it that the country will be saved. All are aroused, all in commotion, all burning to fight. You know that Verdun is not yet in the power of our enemies. You know that the garrison has sworn to slay the first one who proposes to surrender. One part of the people will march to the frontiers, another will

dig earthworks, and a third will defend the interior of our towns with pikes. Paris will assist these great efforts. The commissioners of the commune will in a solemn manner by proclamation summon the citizens to arm and march for the defense of the country. It is in that moment, Messieurs, that you can declare that the capital deserves well of all France. It is in that moment that the National Assembly will become a veritable committee of war. We ask that you coöperate with us in directing the sublime movement of the people by designating commissioners who will aid us in these great measures. We ask that whoever refuses either to serve in person or to turn over his arms be punished with death. We ask that instructions be given the citizens to direct their movements. We ask that couriers be sent to all the departments to inform them of the decrees that you will have adopted. The tocsin, which is about to sound, is not a signal of alarm; it is the charge against the enemies of the country. In order to overcome them, Messieurs, we need audacity, more audacity, always audacity, and France is saved."

These words electrified the Assembly.

Thousands of firearms had been distributed promiscuously among the citizens. It was essential that those who held them in their possession, presumably as armed militiamen, should either enroll for active service and use them themselves against the enemy or surrender the weapons to those who would use them for the national defense.

The Assembly decreed at once that all who refused either to serve in person or to turn their arms over to those who would march against the enemy should be declared infamous, traitors, and worthy of the pain of death; that all who refused to execute the orders of the executive authority or in any way hindered the execution of them should likewise be condemned to death; and that twelve commissioners

should straightway be chosen from the members of the Assembly to assist the executive power in its measures.

The sounding of the tocsin on September 2d was not only the call to patriotic effort. It was also the signal for the commencement of the massacre. Prudhomme, the journalist, related that he was sitting in his office when he heard the ringing of the bells and the firing of the cannon and that in his anxiety he hurried to the Ministry of Justice where he found Danton and inquired of him the meaning of it. Danton informed him of the conspiracy formed by the royalists and said that the incensed people were to be permitted to execute justice themselves in the prisons. Prudhomme protested in horror, but Camille Desmoulins, who arrived at that moment, assured him that the innocent would not be confused with the guilty. As Prudhomme passed out sadly he noticed that a dinner party was in progress. Madame Desmoulins and Fabre d'Eglantine were among the guests, and as word was brought that all was going well, Danton took his seat at table.

At the sound of the alarm guns, about two o'clock in the afternoon, some carriages filled with non-juring priests, who were about to leave Paris for the place of deportation assigned them, were stopped and escorted to the Hôtel de Ville, and from there sent to places of detention, the Abbey of Saint Germain and the convent of the Carmelites. As the carriages directed to the Abbey with twenty-four of the priests were driven slowly through the streets, the soldiers escorting them tried to incite the crowd by pointing to the priests and crying:

"These are your enemies, accomplices of those who delivered up Verdun, those who only awaited your departure to murder your wives and children, Here are our pikes and sabres, put these monsters to death!"

The rabble reviled the priests with coarse insults, but committed no acts of violence. The assassins were waiting

at the door of the Abbey and the massacre began at once. Twenty-one of these priests perished immediately. The Abbé Sicard, head of the school for deaf-mutes, and one companion escaped to the hall of the section, begging to be saved, and were admitted to an inner room for hiding. But some one informed the rabble who battered in the door. Sicard's companion fell dead at his side, but Sicard was saved through the heroic intervention of one of the commissioners of the section and his own coolness in appealing to the sympathy and sense of justice of the crowd.

About the same time the massacre began in the convent of the Carmelites, Rue Vaugirard, in the section of the Luxembourg, which was filled with refractory priests. Joachim Ceyrat, one of the principal organizers of the massacre, an inveterate hater of religion, ordered all the priests to leave the church where they were lodged and assemble in the garden. They knew at once that they were doomed, but most of them awaited death with great serenity. Many repaired to a chapel at the end of the garden and passed their last moments in devotions, among them Dulau, the venerable Archbishop of Arles.

A savage band of assassins, armed with pistols and sabres, broke open the garden gates and threw themselves upon their victims. While one group of murderers slew several priests whom they encountered in the garden, others approached the chapel, calling out furiously:

"Where is the Archbishop of Arles?"

The archbishop rose from his knees, went to the doorway and confronted his assassins on the steps.

"It is you who had the blood of patriots shed at Arles!" cried the leader of the band.

"Messieurs, I have never had the blood of any one shed, nor have I ever injured any one in my life," replied the archbishop.

But at that moment one of the assassins struck him across the forehead with a sabre and another dealt a terrible blow, almost cleaving his face in two. The heroic old man, without uttering a murmur, still erect on the steps of the chapel, raised his hand to the wound. At the third blow he fell forward at the feet of his assassins and a pike was thrust through his heart. With a cry of exultation the assassins opened a fusillade at close range on the priests kneeling inside the chapel and in a few moments the floor was strewn with the dead and dying.

Others less resigned fled wildly about the garden and were pursued by the blood-thirsty ruffians reviling religion with blasphemous imprecations and singing the refrain of the *Carmagnole*, the song of the sans-culottes: *Dansons la Carmagnole, Vive le son! Vive le son! Dansons la Carmagnole, Vive le son du canon!* A few of the fugitives succeeded in climbing the wall, ten feet high, and escaping through neighboring gardens or the Rue Cassette. Stanislas Maillard, arriving on the scene of the massacre, interrupted the work of the butchers to insist on the formality of a trial. The survivors were ordered into the church and a tribunal was instituted. Maillard or a commissioner sat at a table with the list of prisoners and the victims were lead before them. At the gates gendarmes restrained the populace who were moved by sympathy for the priests. Altogether 119 perished, among them, besides the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishops of Saintes and Beauvais; Hébert, general of the Eudistes, confessor of the king; Dom Chevreux, general of the Benedictines; many heads of seminaries, professors of the colleges of the university, and of the College of Navarre. Many were put to death also in the Seminary of Saint-Firmin in Rue Saint Victor.

Maillard proceeded to the Abbey. He had received instructions from the Vigilance Committee in the form of a

circular, signed by Panis, Sergent, and Mehee: "In the name of the people, my comrades, you are directed to judge all the prisoners of the Abbey, except the Abbé Lenfant, whom you will consign to a secure place." The Abbé Lenfant was brother of a member of the Vigilance Committee. Here as at the Carmelite Convent, Maillard proceeded to give the assassinations an appearance of legality.

One of the commissioners of the sections, standing on a stool, attempted to allay the ferocity of the rabble, which at first seemed inclined to respond to his humane appeal. But one of the assassins, prepared in advance to cope with reluctant tendencies of this sort, sprang forward with blazing eyes, brandishing a blood-stained sword, and cried out:

"I am not an orator, I delude no one, and I tell you that I am the father of a family, that I have a wife and five children, whom I am willing to leave here under protection of my section in order to go and fight the enemy, but meanwhile I do not intend that the rascals who are in this prison, or the others who will open the doors to them, shall go and murder my wife and children. . . . So by me or by others, the prison shall be purged of all these cursed scoundrels!"

The mob, rallying to these words, called loudly for the tribunal to deal with the conspirators. A popular jury of twelve was named over which Maillard presided. This improvised court held its session in a hall opening onto the garden, and Maillard, dressed ceremoniously in black and with powdered hair, took his seat at a table covered with a green cloth, with the prison register opened before him. This register with the lists of names stained with wine and the bloody finger-prints of the assassins, long a ghastly relic of the massacre, was destroyed with similar documents at the prefecture of police by the commune in 1871. In the flickering light of a candle the prisoners were led before him one by one. Maillard, after advising each prisoner to speak

Mademoiselle Marie Maurille Virot de Sombreuil, the young aristocrat who, it is said, drank a cup of human blood to save her father, who had been Governor of the Invalides, from the massacres which took place in September, 1792. From the painting by Julian Story.

the truth, asked the cause of his arrest. The least falsehood was fatal. Many of the prisoners owed their lives to the absolute candor of their replies. After each prisoner had given his explanations and replied to the observations of the jury, the president consulted his colleagues as to the verdict. In the case of a favorable decision, the president declared the prisoner acquitted by judgment of the people. He was then immediately released, received by the populace with embraces, and conducted to the hall of the section with cries of joy. If the acquitted was young and robust, the president had him engage himself to go to the frontier to help repel the enemy.

Condemnation was expressed by the formula "*À la Force*," which some of the condemned prisoners probably understood as meaning "To the prison of La Force," assuming that the transfer to another place of confinement indicated a reprieve or acquittal, so that in their deception they offered no resistance. As soon as the condemned left the hall of judgment, the executioners fell on them with cries of "*Vive la patrie*" and despatched them with their pikes and sabres.

The rabble called loudly for vengeance on the Swiss, forty-three of whom were confined in the Abbey. Ordered to come forth, they huddled together, vainly pleading for mercy. Finally a tall young man of noble countenance and martial bearing declared: "I pass the first. I shall give the example." He stood before the assassins, with folded arms, calmly and defiantly. Then suddenly he rushed forward onto the pikes and bayonets, like his heroic countryman, Arnold von Winkelreid, at Sempach, and fell pierced with a hundred wounds. Nearly all the Swiss met a similar fate.

The butchers varied the monotony of slaughter by original refinements of cruelty. When Thierry, the former chief

valet of the king's chamber, persisted in crying: "Long live the king," after his body had been transfixed by a lance, the executioners scorched his face with their torches. Colonel de Saint-Mart, with his sides pierced by a lance, was compelled to walk on his knees, and was finally decapitated after he had amused the assassins by his groans and agonized contorsions. A terrible brigade of female malefactors released from the prisons applauded the assassinations and incited the murderers to further violence. Among the victims was the former minister Montmorin, who had been accused before the Assembly on August 22d of opposing the proposed alliance between France and Prussia and wishing to maintain the Franco-Austrian alliance, but had at that time been acquitted.

The massacre at the Abbey lasted two days. Among the prisoners brought before the popular tribunal on September 3d was the elderly Marquis de Sombreuil, who had been governor of the Invalides. His devoted daughter, Marie Maurille Vireaux de Sombreuil, eighteen years of age, who had voluntarily come to the Abbey to share her father's captivity, heroically defended him before Maillard, and, probably more by her tears and cries, than by arguments, prevailed upon the court to stay proceedings until information regarding him could be sought at the Invalides and in the section of Gros-Caillou. The investigators reported evidence of the kindliness and loyalty of de Sombreuil, who was thereupon acquitted by Maillard and the jury. Upon leaving the prison, Mademoiselle Sombreuil and her father were carried in triumph on the blood-stained arms of the executioners.

Some time later the story spread that, to humor the crowd, while her father's life was in suspense, Mademoiselle de Sombreuil had been compelled to drink to the health of the nation a glass of blood or of wine mixed with blood from a fresh wound. Contemporaries celebrating her heroism make no

mention of this incident and later authorities have denied its authenticity, although many years afterwards her son declared that he had heard the account from the lips of his mother. It would have been quite natural that Mademoiselle de Sombreuil should have become parched with thirst during the terrible ordeal lasting more than three hours, that she should have asked for water, and that a glass of water handed her by one of the executioners should have been stained with blood.

The massacres, continuing on the 3d, 4th, and 5th, were organized and directed more systematically by the Vigilance Committee.

A popular tribunal sat at the prison of La Force, where the massacre began at one o'clock on the morning of the 3d. Many aristocrats had been incarcerated there, including de la Chesnaye, who had taken command of the defenders of the Tuileries after the loss of Mandat, and some of the queen's ladies, notably Madame and Mademoiselle de Tourzel, and the Princesse de Lamballe.

After the early death of her husband the Princesse de Lamballe had lived on the estates of her father-in-law, the Duc de Penthièvre, where her kindness and charity had endeared her to the peasantry. She had not been involved in the events of the Revolution, but had incurred the implacable hatred of the Duc d'Orléans, her husband's brother-in-law, probably because, being aware of his complicity in the march of the mob to Versailles on October 5, 1789, she had after that event refused to associate with him. Manuel secured the release of the other ladies of the queen for which he was doubtless well recompensed. He had received 50,000 écus to save the princess, and ordered her release, but she was destined to perish as the victim of the Duc d'Orléans. The gang of ruffians especially hired to carry out the vengeance of the duke prevailed over Manuel.

At eight on the morning of the 3d this beautiful woman was led before the tribunal presided over by the infamous Hébert, who was later to become the author of the charge against the queen at her trial. At sight of the frightful tribunal, the blood-stained weapons, the fierce murderers with faces and clothing marked with blood, the delicate woman swooned. Upon recovering consciousness she was asked whether she had any knowledge of the plots of August 10th and replied that she had no knowledge of any plots. She was ordered to take the oath of liberty, equality, and hatred of the king and queen, but refused to take the latter part of the oath, as it was "not in her heart." At La Force the condemned left the court by a narrow, dark corridor, at the extremity of which the assassins awaited them with pikes and sabres in the court. At the supreme moment the Princesse de Lamballe, whose nervousness had always been a matter of remark, moved without faltering towards the fatal door, but fainted at the gory spectacle in the court. She was butchered over a barrier stone in the Rue Pavée and according to several witnesses her body was horribly mutilated. The accomplices of the Duc d'Orléans departed with the severed head of the princess as their trophy. They stopped at a hairdresser's where the beautiful yellow ringlets were washed and powdered. Then the head was exhibited on a pike under the windows of the king and queen at the Temple and paraded before the Palais-Royal. The duke was just sitting down to dinner with several guests. He rose, went to the window, contemplated the head, and returned unmoved to proceed with the repast. But the assassination of the Princesse de Lamballe won for him the bitter enmity of Manuel and several others.

On the 4th the band of assassins proceeded to the Salpêtrière in the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, a house of correction for women, which contained many prostitutes, most of

The body of the Princesse de Lamballe, before decapitation, lying in the street. From the painting by Maxime Faivre.

whom were young and attractive. The murderers, pretending to purify Paris and regenerate a corrupt society by fire and sword, violated many of these unfortunate women and then killed them, committing unspeakable atrocities and abominations. Impelled by insatiable fury they went the next day with seven cannon to the Bicêtre, another house of correction, essentially a place of detention for the poor, containing many children of both sexes, whose tender age did not disarm the ferocity of the ruffians. They killed 170 poor people at the Bicêtre, including thirty-three small boys, and remarked that the young victims were more difficult to finish off than the grown ones.

In spite of the alleged infernal plot of the court and reactionaries which served as pretext for the massacres, the proportion of aristocratic victims was small. Thus at the Conciergerie, all of the aristocratic prisoners, excepting Montmorin, former governor of Fontainebleau, and seven or eight Swiss officers, were absolved by the popular tribunal, while it is supposed that no fewer than 320 ordinary criminals of the lower classes perished without trial. Seventy-five women, mostly thieves, were liberated and enrolled with the band of female delinquents already mentioned.

Nine prisons or places of detention in all were visited by the band of assassins. Authorities differ very much in their accounts of the whole number slain and of the number killed in each particular prison or place of detention. Some of the numbers given are purely fantastic. According to a report made later by the Vigilance Committee itself, the number executed was 1,079 out of a total of 2,639 confined in the prisons. M. Mortimer Ternaux in his *Histoire de la Terreur* gives the number of the slain as 1,368, and of these it would appear that 1,080 were of the people, 245 were priests, and only 43 were aristocrats and officials. Needless to say that all the principles of liberty and justice that the Revolution

had proclaimed and consecrated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, as well as in the constitution, were violated and trampled under foot.

The Vigilance Committee and its associates formed at the heart of the revolutionary commune a much more intensely revolutionary driving force. They had organized the massacres without the official cognizance of the council general or administrative officers of the commune. The National Assembly and Commune of Paris were regularly informed of the sanguinary proceedings on the afternoon of September 2d. They sent envoys to the Abbey to restrain or moderate the fury of the executioners, but the delegates were unable to make themselves heard by the excited multitude and withdrew in distress.

On the 3d the Vigilance Committee sent the following circular in the name of the Commune of Paris, signed by Duplain, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant, Jourdeuil, Marat, Deforgues, Leclerc, Duffort, and Cally, to the departments:

"The Commune of Paris hastens to inform its brothers in all the departments that a portion of the ferocious conspirators detained in the prisons have been put to death by the people, acts of justice which seemed to it indispensable in order to restrain by terror the legions of traitors concealed within its walls at the moment when it was about to march on the enemy; and without doubt the whole nation, after the long series of treacheries which have led it to the edge of the abyss, will hasten to adopt this measure so necessary to public safety, and all the French will cry like the Parisians, 'We shall march on the enemy, but we will not leave behind us these brigands to murder our children and our wives!'

"Brothers and friends, we expect that a part of you will fly to our assistance and help us repel the countless legions of the satellites of the despots who have conspired to destroy

the French. We march together to save the country and we shall owe you the glory for having drawn it from the depths."

It is noteworthy that this circular bore the countersign of the Ministry of Justice, affixed by Fabre d'Eglantine, Danton's secretary.

Excepting Pétion, Mayor of Paris, the Girondins took no part in the massacres. The progress of events soon gave them grounds for nervousness and made it seem extremely desirable to them that the activities of the commune should be restrained.

Robespierre, although thwarted by Danton in his plan of including Roland and Brissot in the proscription list, appeared at the meeting of the council general of the commune on the evenings of September 1st and 2d and accused "a powerful party" of having conspired to place the Duke of Brunswick on the throne of France and made it quite clear, without mentioning any names, that he alluded to Roland and Brissot, and the commune had his discourse published.

On the night of the 2d–3d, the Vigilance Committee, flushed no doubt by the successful inauguration of its extreme policy of terrorism through bloodshed, directed by Marat, wishing to crush the Girondins and overwhelm opposition among the electors, issued orders for the arrest of Roland, Brissot, and several other deputies of this party. Danton, learning of this step, protested vigorously, found Robespierre on the 3d at the Hôtel de Ville, and expressed himself with great emphasis against such an act of madness on the part of the committee. He finally obtained the revocation of these orders.

The force tending towards anarchy which the Girondins had enlisted against their predecessors in power had now turned against themselves. They realized the danger when

it was too late. After condoning the massacres they ended by expressing a somewhat embarrassed protest against them.

A long communication from Roland urging the necessity of restraining revolutionary excesses, addressed to the president of the Assembly, was read in the Assembly on the 3d. The writer felt it necessary to begin by conciliating the populace through cajolery.

"Without the work of the 10th," he declared, "it is evident that we would have been undone; the court, prepared for a long time, awaited the hour to crown all its acts of treason by unfurling over Paris the standard of death and reigning there through terror. The feeling of the people, always just and prompt, when opinion is not corrupted, forestalled the moment marked for its destruction and made it fatal for the conspirators."

But victory naturally generates excesses and if the tendency to such disorders becomes a deeply rooted habit, the existence of society is imperilled.

"If disorganization becomes a habit; if zealous, but ignorant and intemperate, men presume to interfere daily with the administration and hinder its course; if in support of some popular favor, obtained by great ardor and sustained by a greater prattle, they spread distrust, sow denunciations, excite fury, dictate proscriptions, . . . government ceases to be more than a shadow, it becomes nothing. . . . ."

He declared that the provisional commune had rendered great services, but was abusing its power.

He alluded rather guardedly to the events of the day before but spoke with greater boldness of the attitude which the Assembly should then take.

"Yesterday was a day over the events of which we should perhaps draw a veil; I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, yet bring to it a sort of justice; they do

not make victims of their wrath all whom they encounter in their fury, but direct their anger against those who they believe have been too long spared by the sword of the law, and who the perilous situation makes them believe ought to be killed at once. But I know that it is easy for scoundrels and traitors to abuse this effervescence and that it must be arrested; I know that we owe to all France the declaration that the executive power could neither foresee nor prevent these excesses; I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them or regard themselves as annihilated. I know also that this declaration exposes me to the rage of certain agitators. Well! Let them take my life. I only wish to preserve it for liberty and equality; if these are violated or destroyed, either by the rule of foreign despots or by the disorder of a misguided people, I would have had enough of life; but to my last breath I shall have done my duty; that is the sole advantage that I seek and that no power on earth can take from me."

Those who had tried to interfere to restrain or check the fury of the massacres had done so at the risk of their own lives. The patriot press excused the people for having like Hercules cleaned the Augean stables. But soon there was evidence of a reaction of feeling among the people in some quarters. Several sections, as Arcis, the Marais, Mail, Bibliothèque, the Lombards, and Fontaine-de-Grenelle, resolved to watch over the security of persons and property, invoked the spirit of concord, demanded the destruction of the lists of names connected with the petitions of the 8,000 opposed to the proposal of the camp near Paris in June and the 20,000 sustaining the king after the first invasion of the Tuileries, which had involved the signers in annoyance or even peril, and proposed conservative confederations of sections to combat disorder.

On the 6th Danton informed the Assembly that he had given orders that persons arrested in the environs of Paris should remain in the places of detention of the same communes.

On the 2d the Assembly had ordered that fifty-three persons who were awaiting trial by the High Court at Orléans should be transferred to Saumur. But the commune sent Fournier the American with 1,000 men to conduct them to Paris, and in spite of Danton's protests, he took them as far as Versailles, where they were massacred on the 9th. But Danton succeeded in saving Adrien Duport, the distinguished deputy of the Constituent Assembly, who had been arrested at Melun.

The example of Paris and the circular of the Vigilance Committee provoked several minor massacres in the departments. Some of the bands of recruits marching towards the frontier showed themselves zealous disciples of the violent doctrines of the demagogues in Paris. Thus the volunteers declared at Meaux, September 4th:

"In the name of the people we must purge the prisons and imitate what has just been accomplished in the capital." Fourteen prisoners were consequently beheaded in the evening while the elections for the deputies from the department of Seine-et-Marne and for the local authorities were in progress. At Reims a detachment of the Parisian volunteers massacred nine persons and compelled the electoral assembly to choose two candidates according to their dictation. There was bloodshed at Lyons, but generally revolutionary opinion in the provinces recoiled from such horrible measures and did not respond to the sanguinary appeal of the Vigilance Committee.

The influence of the September massacres was profound and far-reaching. Through them the Revolution was committed to a headlong course. The leaders could no longer

draw back. Hesitating ones were compelled to advance. It was useless to disavow the massacres. Leaders and multitude were involved in the common guilt; they had to stand or perish with the Revolution. Marat and the Vigilance Committee triumphed and the commune were partners in their victory.

CHAPTER XIII

The Evolution of Opinion Between the Suspension of the King and the Adoption of the Republic

Scope of the change. Influences affecting opinion: character and activity of the Executive Council, evidence of the king's treasonable intelligence with the enemy, the invasion of the country. Oath of hatred of kings and royalty taken by the Assembly. Proceedings of the electoral assemblies; the two opposing political groups; the elections in Paris; declaration of the electoral assembly of Paris for the republic; influence of the Jacobins; comparative freedom of the elections throughout the country; declarations of some of the electoral assemblies. The Duc d'Orléans elected to the National Convention. Legislative activity of the Assembly: abolition of feudal encumbrances on land, confiscation and disposal of the property of the émigrés, great social revolution creating rural democracy of peasant landowners, civil marriage and legalization of divorce, plans for national system of education.

Between the suspension of Louis XVI and the formal adoption of the republic, from August 10th to September 22d, for a period of forty-two days, there was a kind of interregnum in France. The king had really been dethroned; the Assembly had implicitly destroyed the binding force of the constitution by abolishing the property qualification for the right of suffrage, thus doing away with the distinction of the French into active and passive citizens. There was in this period neither monarchy nor republic. But the events and changes at this time made a deep impression on the popular mind and it will be interesting to consider, in connection with them, some evidence of the extent to which the evolution of public opinion prepared the nation to renounce monarchy and accept the republic.

The massacres of September, 1792. From the engraving by Berthault after the drawing by Swebach-Desfontaines.

As we have observed, the country as a whole accepted tranquilly the political results of the revolution of August 10th, the suspension and incarceration of Louis XVI, although the summoning of the Convention was an indication that these results were not regarded by the leaders as a temporary expedient, like the suspension of the king in 1791, but as the beginning of a fundamental change in the kingship, if not the abolition of the institution of royalty itself.

In Paris the partisans of Louis XVI had been effectively silenced. Those who had not escaped were imprisoned or terrorized. The royalist journals had been suppressed or had changed their name and tone. Thus the prominent royalist *Gazette de France* became on August 16th the *Gazette Nationale de France*, and the fleur-de-lis on its heading was replaced by the words *Liberté* and *Égalité*. The channels for the expression of royalist opinion were abolished. The constitutional monarchists were also reduced to impotence. Openly and, probably, for the most part sincerely, France agreed to the dethronement of Louis XVI. But the condemnation of the monarch was not the same as the repudiation of the institution of royalty.

While there is no doubt that France was still largely monarchical in sentiment in the early part of August, 1792, the nation accepted the republic in September practically without protest. A great change had evidently taken place in public opinion. This change was not brought about by an organized republican party or by systematic propaganda of republican ideas, since these did not exist. Outwardly, the question of the future form of government attracted very little attention.

Public opinion was probably influenced to some extent by the character and activity of the Provisional Executive Council, which was in a sense a representative executive, rather republican than monarchical in principle, and which

displayed, in the energy of Danton and the obvious patriotism of all its members, qualities which were manifestly lacking in the king.

Written evidence of the king's treason, which condemned the person of the monarch in the eyes of the people, tended also to disgust the nation with the institution of royalty. Few doubted any longer that the king had been in communication with the émigré nobles and the foreign enemies of France and that the expenses of publishing anti-revolutionary pamphlets and journals had been defrayed by the civil list. Exasperation at the invasion of the country sank deep into the soul of the nation. Since foreign powers invaded France to replace a French king on his throne, Frenchmen resolved in sheer defiance that they would upset the throne and have no more kings in France. Republican sentiment sprang from the outraged feeling of patriotism. The conversion manifested itself in different ways.

On August 10th the Assembly had shown a certain solicitude for royalty by decreeing the suspension of the king, and not his deposition, as though he might return to the throne; but it soon relinquished custody of the king to the imperious commune, which confined Louis XVI in the Temple and treated him like a prisoner awaiting judgment.

The outward symbols of royalty were soon swept away. On August 15th the Assembly decreed that the seal of the state should henceforth bear a figure of Liberty armed with a pike, surmounted by the cap of liberty with the legend: "In the name of the French nation." It was decreed that the name of the king should be effaced from all deeds, acts, and official emblems.

On September 4th, at a time of great excitement produced by the invasion and danger, Chabot announced that the enemies of liberty were defaming the Assembly in order to sow discord and distrust among the citizens, that some said

that certain members were working to restore Louis XVI to the throne, while others declared that the Duke of Brunswick was to be created king and others, some other foreign prince; that these rumors might produce very dangerous results; and that, to deprive the enemies of France of their last weapon, it was essential that the National Assembly should make a public, unequivocal declaration of its detestation of kings and kingship. At this, the Assembly rose as one man and swore that it would fight unto death against kings and royalty.

An address, expressing the sentiment of the Assembly on the subject of royalty, drafted by Guadet, as member of the extraordinary committee, and unanimously adopted, closed with the following sentence:

"But this oath, which they cannot take as representatives of the people, they take as citizens and as individuals; they swear to fight with all their might against kings and the institution of royalty."

One member declared that, even if the Convention replaced the king on the throne, the members of the present Assembly would still have the right to refuse to submit to royalty and flee a country which consented to live under the yoke of tyrants. It is significant to recall that, only so far back as July 7th of the same year, this same Assembly had taken an oath of hatred of the republic.

The people threw down the statues of the kings in the public places and streets of Paris, including even that of Henry IV at the Pont-Neuf. A deputation from the section of Henri IV, which changed its name to Pont-Neuf, declared at the bar of the Assembly on August 14th:

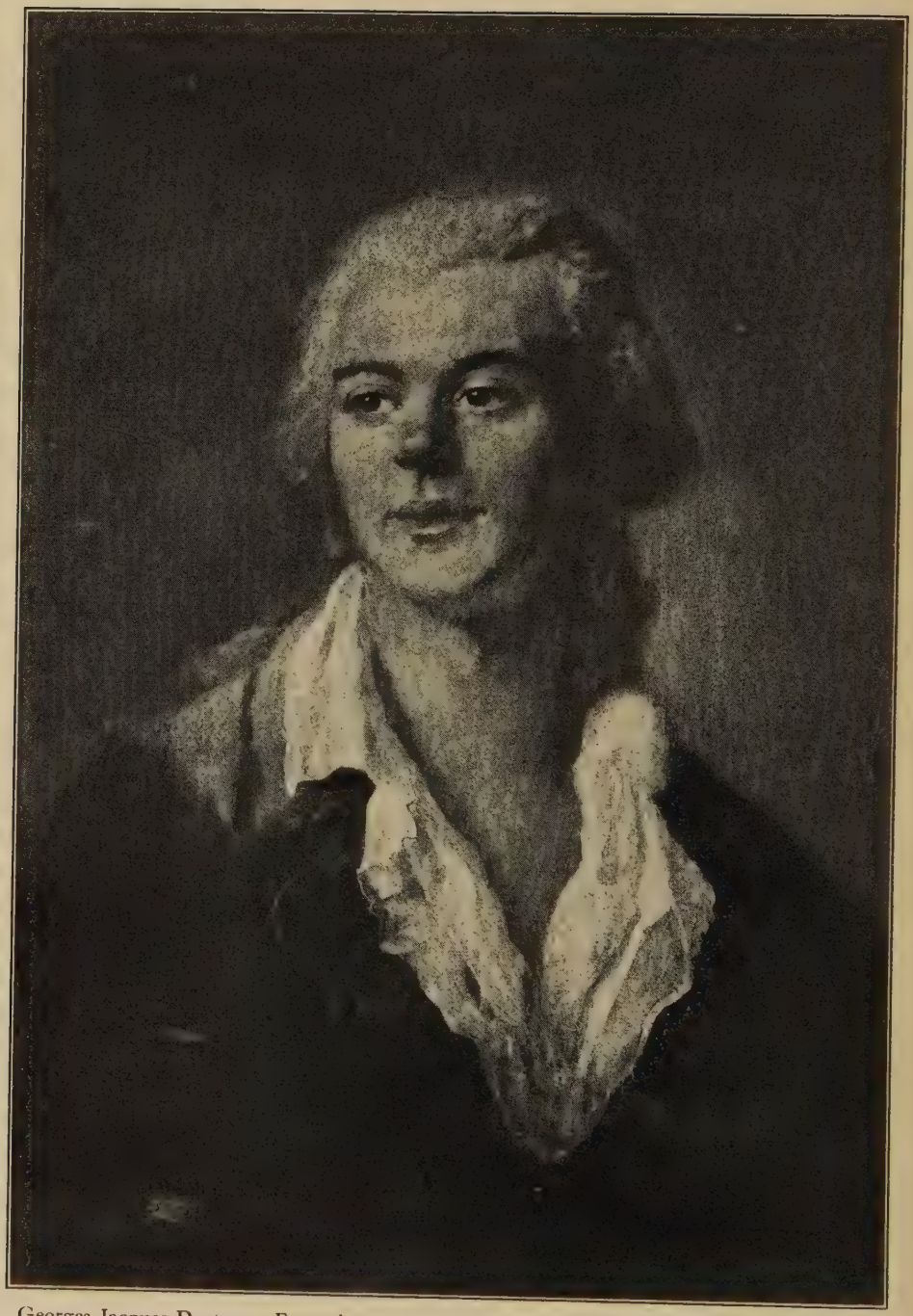
"The virtues of Henry IV restrained us for some time, but we remembered that he was not a constitutional monarch. We saw in him only the despot and suddenly down came the statue."

The section of the Place Louis XIV now took the name of Mail, that of the Place Royale became the section of the Place des Fédérés, that of the Roi-de-Sicile was changed to Droits-de-l'Homme, and that of the Palais-Royal was replaced by Butte-des-Moulins. Many others gave up names suggestive of royalty. On September 6th the Mayor of Paris and the members of the municipality came to the bar of the Assembly to repeat the oath of hatred of royalty.

Notwithstanding these numerous expressions of detestation of the king and royalty, there was a singular reluctance to declare openly for a republic, probably because the idea of republicanism had been so closely associated with that of disorder and anarchy. "Factious and republican" had been repeatedly used as synonymous terms of disapprobation. But Robespierre, who had obstinately upheld the principle of monarchy, and had on several occasions publicly denounced republicanism, yielded to the rising tide of popular opinion and wrote in the *Defenseur de la Constitution:*

"Either the king or the French must give way. Such is the situation in which you are placed by the glorious struggle that you have so far maintained against royalty."

In August, 1792, Roederer, former member of the Constituent Assembly, Procureur Général Syndic of the Department of Paris, published his *Observations* in which he expressly supported the republic, an indication, not so much of personal preference or of a rational conviction of its advantages, as of a cautious scrutiny of the political horizon. Grégoire published a sermon delivered in the cathedral at Blois in honor of the dead of August 10th, in which he denounced all kings, but without expressly declaring for a republic. Rabaut Saint-Étienne, who had been a firm upholder of monarchy in the Constituent Assembly, said in a letter of August 28, 1792: "This king has delivered us from all kings whatsoever. A year of his treachery has done more



Georges Jacques Danton. From the painting attributed to Jean-Baptiste Greuze exhibited at the Exposition des Portraits Nationaux, Paris, 1878.

than a century of reasoning could have done to destroy the royalty that 6,000 years of idolatry has ripened and sanctified."

Instructive evidence of the change in sentiment is afforded by the proceedings of the electoral assemblies for the choice of deputies to the National Convention. The elections for the Convention were held at a time when the public was deeply agitated by the invasion of France, the wholesale slaughter of the prisoners in Paris, and, to a lesser degree, the discussion and enactment of important measures for social reform, which will be described later. The suffrage, as we have seen, was universal but indirect. The primary assemblies of all the voters held in each canton at the end of August chose delegates for the electoral assemblies which convened at the chief towns of the departments at the beginning of September. The suffrages were divided between the candidates of the two patriot groups which now contested the power and were later distinguished in the Convention as the Girondins and Montagnards. We have already alluded several times for convenience to Brissotin, Vergniaud, Roland, and their political comrades as the Girondins, although this term did not come into general use until after the assembling of the Convention. Their adversaries, the followers of Robespierre and Marat, then took the name of Montagnards, or the Mountain, from their position in the hall.

These two groups had not as yet hardened into sharply defined political parties. There were obvious differences between the leaders in each camp and the form of government was not a question dividing the two groups. In fact, Brissot had commonly been regarded as more republican than the leaders of the other group. Down to August 10th, neither Danton nor Robespierre had been partisans of a republic.

The difference between the two groups was one of temperament and method rather than of political doctrine. The Girondins were idealists, theoretical democrats; their opponents were energetic, domineering, drastic in their methods. They dominated Paris through their control of the insurrectionary commune, and through their control of Paris they aimed to dictate to France. Marat and his followers carried on a bitter campaign against the Brissotins in Paris, "these men too inclined to regard themselves as of superior breed," as they told the multitude.

The electoral assembly of the department of Paris consisted of 990 members, 850 representing the city, largely new men of the class brought into prominence through the insurrectionary commune. They met in the Jacobin Club and each member was required to swear that he had not been connected with any anti-patriotic society and had not signed the famous petitions of the 8,000 and 20,000. This oath excluded a number of electors. The place of meeting, environment, and inordinate influence of Robespierre were not favorable to freedom in the election. Naturally, the extremists carried the day in Paris. Robespierre was the first deputy chosen by the electoral assembly of the department, receiving 338 out of 525 votes cast; Danton was elected in second place, but by a larger majority, 638 out of 700 votes. Then followed the organizers of the September massacres and other prominent radical revolutionists: Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Panis, Sergent, Tallien, Billaud-Varenne, Camille Desmoulins, François Robert.

Although Danton himself was returned by a large majority, the general result of the elections in Paris was a repudiation of his policy of conciliation between the patriots of the two opposing groups. Of the twenty-four deputies chosen to represent the department of Paris, only two were moderates.

Significant also is the fact that the attitude of Paris, as expressed by her representatives, was shown to be distinctly favorable to the republican idea. The electoral assembly of the department instructed its deputies to vote (1) for the absolute abolition of royalty and the penalty of death for any who should propose to reëstablish it and (2) for a republican form of government.

The powerful organization of the Jacobins became instrumental in making the example of the capital effective throughout the country. The results of August 10th had not at once induced the Jacobins to adopt the republican idea. But after the publication of evidence of the king's intelligence with the enemy had aroused general indignation, they took the lead against kings and monarchy, when there was no longer much danger of a mistake in such a step.

During the meeting of August 27th the bust of Brutus was brought into the hall of the Jacobins amid general applause and Manuel, addressing the assemblage, declared:

"It was here that the downfall of kings was prepared, the downfall of Louis the Last; here should repose the image of him who first of all desired to purge the earth of kings. Messieurs, here is Brutus, who will remind you at every instant that in order to be a citizen one must always be ready to sacrifice all, even one's children, to the happiness of one's country. Let us remember, above all, at this moment when we are busy with the elections—let us all reflect that, if in the National Convention there be found one such head as that, France will be saved, because she will no longer have a king. We ought all to take an oath, and I shall take it first: In whatever position I am placed, all my efforts will be directed towards this important end—to purge the earth of the pest of royalty."

The members took this oath together.

The action of the electoral assembly of the department of Paris in declaring for a republic induced the Jacobins to pass from the negative attitude of condemning royalty to the positive one of urging the establishment of a republican form of government. On September 2d the Jacobin Club of Paris sent an address to the affiliated societies throughout the country recommending the action of the electoral body in the capital as an example for the other departments. The influence of the Jacobins had much to do with the rapid change in sentiment throughout France, as manifested in the proceedings of some of the electoral assemblies.

It has been claimed that under the prevailing conditions the results of these elections did not faithfully represent the feeling of the nation as a whole. Allusion has already been made to conditions influencing the action of the electorial assembly in Paris. Since the primary assemblies throughout the country chose each of their delegates to the electoral assemblies by a separate ballot, the proceedings were long and tedious, lasting several days, so that it was impossible to keep all the voters present until the close. In rural sections, moreover, many citizens were doubtless deterred by the remoteness of the assembly places. No general statistics as to the number of citizens who took part in the primary assemblies have been preserved. It is known that in the department of Le Gard not more than a fourth of the number registered took part. The effect of the physical difficulties of attendance at the primary assemblies was probably favorable to the extremists. For these difficulties tended to eliminate the less zealous, leaving control of the assemblies to the more determined voters, among whom partisans of the extreme faction were more numerous. It must be borne in mind, however, that the question of the form of government was not an immediate issue between the parties of the time and that it is not necessarily to be assumed that the progress of

republican sentiment was more rapid or more marked among the followers of Robespierre and Marat than among the adherents of the Girondins.

Many aristocrats and constitutionalists were of course restrained from voting through fear. Furthermore, in some localities "citizens justly suspected of want of patriotism" were formally excluded from the elections. Also, the practice adopted in many parts of verbal voting placed restraint on the timid. But no pressure was exerted by the government or the administrative officials. Either from scruples, or indecision, the Executive Council avoided any expression of opinion on the future form of government. The number of voters excluded on political grounds was probably quite small. The powerful influence of the Jacobins was exerted in influencing opinion rather than in coercing the voters. It may be assumed that, if the elections outside Paris were not absolutely unconstrained, they were as free as the manners of the time and the circumstances would permit.

Not a single royalist deputy was returned to the National Convention. Probably none believed that the maintenance of royalty was compatible with the necessities of the national defense. A few primary assemblies demanded the continuation of the monarchy, but no electoral assembly had any thought of maintaining it. In general the electoral assemblies granted their deputies unlimited powers. Of the assemblies that gave mandates, the greater number made no declaration as to the form of government desired. But six electoral assemblies expressly declared against royalty and many by implication made the same pronouncement. Many instructed their deputies very emphatically to found a government based on the principles of liberty and equality. Alone of all the departments, Paris expressly demanded the republic.

The primary assembly of Montmirail in the department of the Sarthe expressed feeling common to the rural democracy: "We are weary of the régime of kings, nobles, and priests; we want no more of such 'honest' folk. Brunswick and his like may treat us as factious, republicans, or sans-culottes; the words matter little to us, if only crime ceases to dominate our affairs. They need not count on frightening the country-folk or expect any compromise from us." These were the words of a peasantry released from feudal burdens, raised to economic independence through spoliation of the nobility, and bound to the Revolution by every tie of sentiment and interest.

The electoral assembly of the Sarthe took an oath of eternal hatred for kings and royalty. That of the Seine-et-Oise demanded "the deposition of Louis, traitor of his race," and that of the Seine-et-Marne swore "never to recognize Louis XVI or any of his family as king." The assembly of the Bouches-du-Rhône declared that it rejected with horror any kind of royal or hereditary executive power and that it desired a free government in which the people as sovereign could exercise its sovereignty.

The elections showed the popularity of men well-known for their republican opinions. Thus Condorcet was elected deputy by five different departments, Thomas Paine by four, Brissot by three, and the Prussian Clootz by two. But in this crucial period neither Danton nor Marat expressed any opinion against the institution of royalty.

The Duc d'Orléans was encouraged to become a candidate for the National Convention. In order to flatter the passion for equality he asked the Commune of Paris by a letter of September 14th, which he had published, to give him a new family designation because the use of his own title was barred by the decree of the Assembly proscribing all titles of royalty. After deliberation on the next day, the commune conferred

on him the surname Égalité, and in communicating this decision Tallien, at that time president, praised the duke's civic spirit and love of liberty. On the 19th, when the electoral assembly of Paris had only one more candidate to choose, the name of the Duc d'Orléans was proposed and he was elected by the smallest majority of all the deputies of the capital, 297 votes out of 592. There was even a question as to whether he was properly elected at all.

The future Montagnards were accused by their adversaries of having introduced the Duc d'Orléans into the Assembly as part of a reprehensible design. There were probably still some who hoped that the duke might replace his cousin on the throne of France and Marat may have dreamed of raising him to a sort of dictatorship.

Before August 10th some circles had thought of calling to the throne the Duke of York, second son of the King of England, who had married a Prussian princess. On one occasion Carra had proposed to the Jacobins that an English prince should be summoned to the throne, in case Louis XVI fled again, but renounced this proposal after the outbreak of war. On July 25, 1792, Carra declared in praise of the Duke of Brunswick in the *Annales* that this prince only needed a crown to become the restorer of liberty in Europe. But almost immediately the publication of the famous manifesto made the Duke of Brunswick execrable. Carra, seized with mortification, suggested in the *Annales* on September 1st that any deputies who should propose the restoration of royalty should be buried alive.

As already noted, on September 2d Robespierre denounced "a plot in favor of the Duke of Brunswick, whom a powerful party wishes to place on the throne." Commissaries of the commune examined the papers of Brissot, against whom this charge was chiefly directed, but found nothing suspicious.

Partly for the purpose of putting an end to rumors of this sort, the Assembly took its oath of hatred of royalty. But the rumors continued down to the eve of the opening of the Convention.

The Legislative Assembly was now approaching the term of its existence, but, before we dismiss it, attention should be called to some of its latest and most important acts of legislation.

The Constituent Assembly, in its famous session of the night of August 4, 1789, had decreed the abolition of the feudal system throughout France. But it destroyed the feudal system only in principle. Seigneurial rights that implied personal servitude were swept away without compensation, but those not connected with serfdom were made redeemable and until redeemed were due as before. The distinction seemed satisfactory in theory, but in reality the original character of feudal rights was frequently obscure or unknown. The old system of land tenure therefore remained in force, at least to the extent that all feudal rents and dues not known to be connected with personal servitude were respected and merely declared redeemable. But this created an invidious distinction between tenants. Those subject to feudal rights not originating in personal servitude felt it an injustice that their obligations were not abolished like the others. Holdings of both classes had changed hands repeatedly, either by succession or by transfer, and successive tenants had received them encumbered with feudal charges and their value had been rated accordingly. The suppression of the charges in the one case was an enrichment of the tenants through the spoliation of the owners of the feudal rights.

On June 18, 1792, the Legislative Assembly went further and suppressed all casual feudal rights without indemnity, unless these rights were "proved by the original title of

enfeoffment, quit-rent, or lease to be the price and condition of a concession of soil for which they were collected," in which case the rights were still due and redeemable.

One of the results of the revolution of August 10th was to complete the ruin of the feudal system which, although abolished in theory, subsisted in most of its effects. A decree of August 25th declared all landed property free of all feudal or manorial rights and these abolished without indemnity unless the original deed of enfeoffment, quit-rent, or lease were produced as evidence. This placed the burden of proof on the proprietors of the feudal rights and in most cases this proof was impossible, either because written documents had never existed or had disappeared. This decree was received with delight by the peasantry and had a powerful effect in rallying them to the support of the Revolution and later of the republic.

Later, even the original titles lost their validity, as on July 17, 1793, the Convention proclaimed the suppression without indemnity of all feudal rights, both regularly recurring and casual.

Thus, while in other countries the peasants only obtained full ownership of the soil by redeeming the feudal rights, in France they were relieved of all feudal obligations without indemnity and acquired by law the free and absolute right to property.

At this time, also, there was created a new category of national property available for distribution. A decree of April 8, 1792, had sequestrated the property of the émigrés and declared that it should be held as security for the nation against the losses and mischief caused by the desertion and treasonable activities of the owners. On September 20th, in view of the invasion of France, in which the émigrés were taking active part, the Assembly declared both their real and personal property confiscated. Enough of it to satisfy

the claims of their creditors was ordered sold at once for cash. The parents, wives, and children of the émigrés were granted an interest in the remainder, amounting to not more than a fourth of the capital or revenue, upon proving continual residence in France and taking the oath of August 10, 1792. The children received their share of the property in full ownership; the parents and wives received theirs in the form of usufruct. The rest of the property was disposed of, the personal effects sold at auction and the land sold or leased, the fields and vineyards being divided into small holdings. Through the method of payment in instalments extending over a period of fifteen years and the continual depreciation of the value of the currency, the peasants and others purchasers of this property obtained ownership on very easy terms. The national property of this class was constantly added to by fresh emigrations.

The abolition of feudal rights and the distribution of the landed property of the church and the emigrant nobility constituted a social revolution that was much more important than the political revolution of August 10th. By these measures the revolutionary government created a rural democracy of peasants possessing the full ownership of the soil and bound to itself the rural classes, the great force of the nation, at the time when it was calling upon all Frenchmen to repel the invasion of the country. The east and north, where the majority of the population consisted henceforth of peasant proprietors, absolute owners of their land, now took a leading part in the affairs of revolutionary France, while parts of the west, such as Brittany and Normandy, where the greater part of the rural classes remained without a share in the land, displayed an attitude of reluctance or indifference.

The Legislative Assembly continued the work of secularization inaugurated by the Constituent Assembly. The

religious orders of women, which had been spared by the Constituent Assembly, were suppressed on August 4, 1792, on the ground that they made common cause with the refractory clergy and their property was confiscated. The members were granted pensions of 500, 600, and 700 livres. On August 18th all the secular congregations of men and of women were abolished.

There was great confusion from the fact that the non-juring clergy continued to perform the important public rites, such as those of marriage, baptism, and burial. Thus in whole sections of the country, as Vendée, where the people had recourse almost exclusively to the recalcitrant clergy, there were scarcely any valid marriages and therefore no legitimate children. The Constituent Assembly had refrained from correcting this anomalous situation by the rational method of transferring the formalities affecting the civil status of the population from the ecclesiastical to the civil functionaries from fear that the nation was not ready for such a radical step and from reluctance to weaken the position of the constitutional clergy.

Nevertheless, the Constituent Assembly had in 1791 declared marriage to be a civil contract. The logical consequences were drawn from this principle after the revolution of August 10, 1792. On September 20th the registers of the civil status were entrusted to the municipal authorities. Marriage was henceforth legalized by the mere appearance of the contracting parties and their witnesses before the mayor of the commune. The clerical benediction was no longer a necessary condition. The Assembly, furthermore, recognized that marriage, being a civil contract, could be dissolved, like any other contract, and legalized divorce in the case of certain motives specified by law, mutual consent, or incompatibility of temperament alleged by either husband or wife. Divorces soon became numerous

to the great disgust of the church and of all devout Catholics.

The government wished to introduce the same secular spirit into education. An efficient system of education was the indispensable basis of a true democracy, the dream of the enlightened spirits of the age. But the methods and means of education at that time in France were deplorably inadequate and antiquated, and the schools had suffered much from the suppression of the teaching orders and congregations, the war, and emigration. In the higher institutions of learning the emphasis was laid on the ancient languages and the study of religion to the almost complete exclusion of the ideas, the arts, and the sciences of the century. Primary instruction included only reading, writing, and arithmetic, without geography, history, or the natural sciences. Illiteracy was of course very common.

The Revolution was too much absorbed in the national defense to devote its energy to the needed far-reaching reform of education, but the general plans considered at the time show the progress of ideas.

In a report to the Assembly, Condorcet submitted the general principles for a national system of education. He declared that the state should undertake the education of the citizens "so as to develop to the fullest extent the talents of each and thereby establish between all the citizens an equality of fact and give reality to the political equality recognized by the law." Elementary education should be universal and gratuitous. Instruction was to be founded on morality, the national laws, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and the constitution. Condorcet distinguished four grades of schools. Instruction in the primary schools was to include reading, writing, arithmetic, civic morality, and some notions of agriculture. The course in the secondary schools was to be devoted almost entirely

to the theoretical and applied sciences. In the institutes, 110 in number, the exact and physical sciences would share attention with the moral and political sciences. Only in the lycées or universities, to be situated in nine of the chief cities, would letters and the ancient languages be given the preponderance.

This program was a violent reaction from existing conditions. Condorcet believed that the minds of the young should be formed almost entirely by study of the sciences. He aimed to draft a program of education adapted to the new requirements of a transformed society and the exigencies of a time when the natural sciences were developing with unprecedented rapidity. His plan was applied in part only by the Convention and Directory. The primary schools and colleges of the Old Régime lived on, but the colleges were in full decadence, deprived of a large part of their revenues and reduced in personnel by the war and emigration.

CHAPTER XIV

Conclusion

Scope of the present volume. The French nation in 1789 overwhelmingly in favor of moderate reform. Character and early work of the Constituent Assembly. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The division into distinctive political groups. Loss of control by the moderates. Constant shifting of the center of political gravity towards the Left. The failure to establish a responsible ministry. The fatal conflict of the Revolution and the church. The celebration of the festival of the Federation and its effect on the army. Effect of the attempted flight of the royal family. Increasing influence of the clubs. Adoption of the constitution. The work of the Assembly exposed to the destructive violence of the factions. The Girondins and extremists. Effect of intervention of a foreign coalition in behalf of the king. Overthrow of the throne, abrogation of the constitution, and failure of the experiment of a constitutional monarchy.

In the present volume we have traced the fortunes and vicissitudes of the constitutional monarchy, instituted through the determined stand of the deputies of the Third Estate in the States General, from the first month of its existence, July, 1789, down to the virtual overthrow of the monarchy in the popular uprising of August 10, 1792, and to the eve of the proclamation of the republic.

The French nation in 1789 was overwhelmingly in favor of wholesome reforms but opposed to anarchy. The Constituent Assembly, which undertook to recast the fundamental institutions of the country, was dominated by the liberal element, representatives of the substantial middle classes with the progressive deputies of the clergy and nobility. It was inspired by excellent intentions and enthusiasm for the philosophic doctrines of the eighteenth century. In

the absence of legislative experience, it sought guidance in the political and social teachings of the philosophers or in the example of England or the United States or other liberal or democratic governments of ancient or modern times. The beginning of its labors was hailed with delight as an auspicious moment for the fortunes of France and of all mankind.

The Constituent Assembly swept away the incongruous, abusive, and unjust institutions of the Old Régime, established the civic equality of all citizens, and laid the groundwork for the political and social life of modern France. Yet the lesson of the period consists in large part of examples of the dangers that beset popular government and of the faults and omissions that people and rulers should avoid.

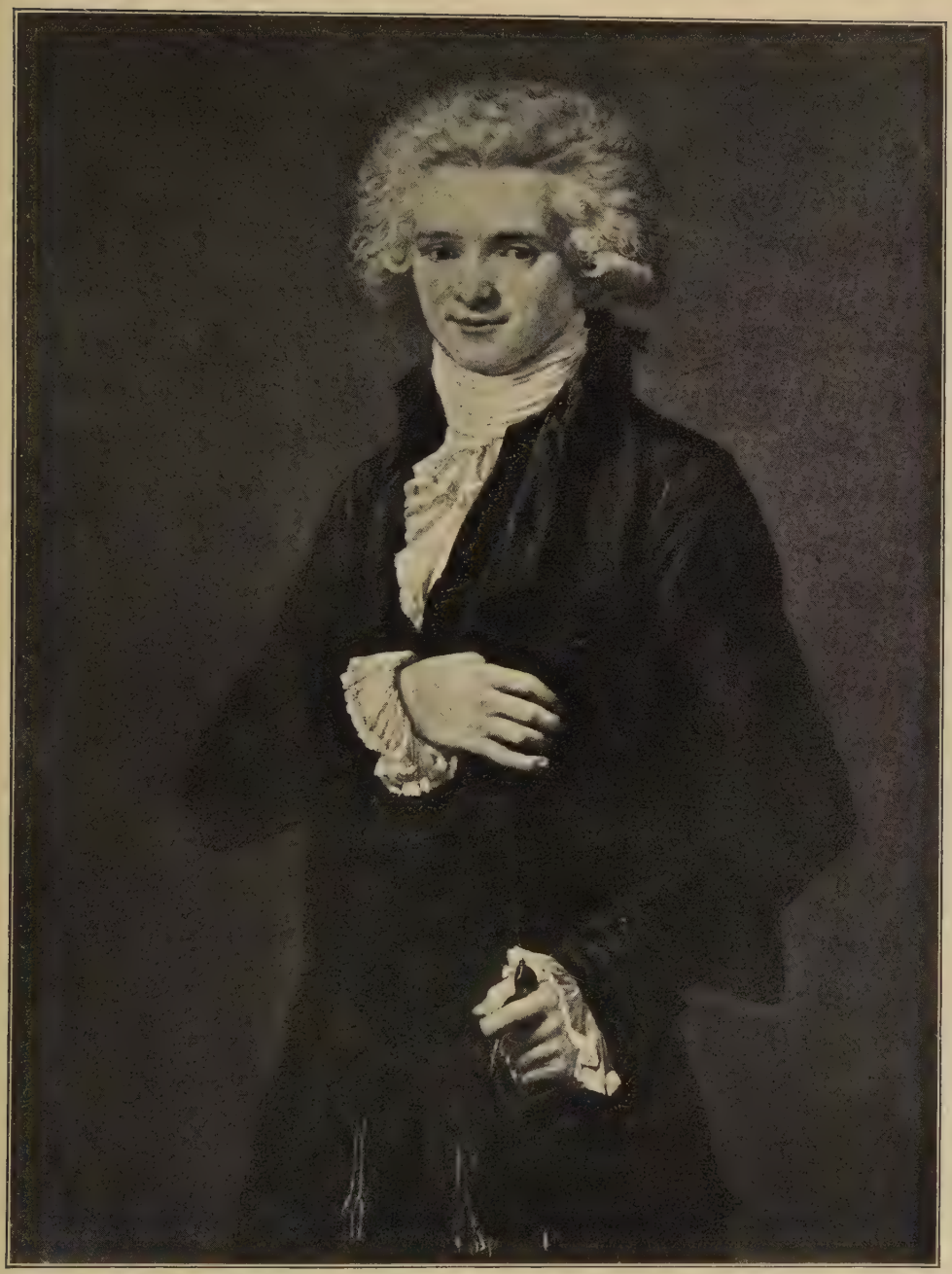
On the memorable evening of August 4, 1789, and in successive sessions, the Assembly abolished the pecuniary and other exclusive privileges of the nobility, suppressed all feudal rights representing personal servitude, making the others redeemable, and did away with tithes. Seigneurial jurisdictions, corvées, the venality of positions in the higher magistracy, and immunity from taxation were all condemned. The special fiscal privileges of provinces and cities were abrogated. Taxation was reduced to a uniform scale for all classes and localities. Henceforth all Frenchmen were equal before the law as regards their private rights, and were legally qualified to engage in any legitimate form of occupation, industry, or trade, and to own property.

Following the example of other liberal nations, the Assembly adopted a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, in the spirit of the philosophers, enumerating certain natural and inalienable rights supposedly conferred by nature on man before the existence of organized society, rights of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. This declaration asserted that all authority originated in the nation and that law was the expression of the general

will. Taxation could only be authorized by the nation or its representatives and it was to be levied on all according to the resources of each individual. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was the program of principles and maxims on which the Assembly proposed to base the fundamental laws which it was to enact. It was the expression of a middle class society, jealous of its personal liberty and rights or property.

Scarcely had the decrees of August 4th and the Declaration of Rights been formulated than the tendency to divide into distinctive political groups destroyed the unity of the enthusiastic reforming movement. The court and a part of the former privileged orders, incapable of complete or sincere acquiescence in the results achieved by the revolutionary movement, formed a reactionary group corresponding generally in aim, although sometimes not in policy, with the growing army of malcontent émigrés beyond the frontier. There soon developed a wide range of political sentiment in the Assembly. The rapid changes thus far introduced and the manifestations of popular violence aroused the anxiety of the more cautious deputies, who formed monarchist and moderate groups. They wished to strengthen the barriers against the threatening tide of anarchy. Opposed to them was the radical group of those who were impatient to put into complete effect the doctrines expressed in the Declaration of Rights as well as the extremists who appealed to popular passion and condemned the constitution as inadequate.

For a short time the moderates were in control. But after their defeat on the questions of the royal veto and the second legislative chamber, they rapidly lost influence and suffered a severe blow in the events of October 5th–6th. The reluctance of the king to sanction the decrees of August 4th and the Declaration of Rights, certain indiscretions of the court, the threatened famine, and various sensational rumors in



Maximilien François Marie Isidore de Robespierre. From the painting by Madame Guyard, *née* Adélaide Labille des Vertus, exhibited at the Exposition des Portraits Nationaux, Paris, 1878.

part purposely spread by political intriguers and their agents drove the populace to the invasion of Versailles, which resulted in the removal of the royal family, and subsequently of the Assembly, to Paris, the center of political agitation and turbulence.

Each successive crisis in the early years of the Revolution marked a shifting of the center of political gravity in the direction of the Left. The retirement or emigration of the disappointed and chagrined at every stage increased the strength of the radical movement. But many radicals of one day, outstripped by the rapid march of opinion, became the conservatives of another without essentially changing their attitude. At all times the sounder judgment of the Assembly was threatened by the corrupting influence of impractical idealism or the temptation to gain influence by wheedling the multitude.

The establishment of a responsible ministry, enjoying the confidence of the Assembly and identified with a dominant group or combination in it, might have insured the success of the constitutional monarchy. But whether it would have been possible to form a group of ministers commanding the support of a majority of the Assembly must remain doubtful. The envy of the deputies for one another and their adherence to the abstract doctrine of the strict separation of powers destroyed the chances of parliamentary government and unity of authority by the decree excluding members of the Assembly from the ministry.

The Revolution made rapid progress and attained great results in a short time. One innovation quickly followed another, changing the whole face of the nation. The confusion of ancient territorial divisions was replaced by the administrative system of departments, districts, and cantons, which remains essentially the same to-day. The ancient parliaments were abolished and a new system of courts was set up.

But the attempt to assimilate the ecclesiastical organization to the new order involved the Revolution in a fatal conflict with the church. The great wealth of the church and the unfair distribution of the clerical revenues, the financial needs of the government, and the demand for the nationalization of ecclesiastical property as expressed in many of the cahiers inevitably engaged the reforming zeal of the Assembly in the scheme of regulating the economic status, organization, and discipline of the church.

Ecclesiastical property aggregating 3,000,000,000 livres in value was transferred to the state which assumed the support of the clergy. The salaries of the bishops and parish clergy were systematized. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which assimilated the clergy to the salaried functionaries of the state, committing their choice to popular election, encountered the stubborn opposition of a large part of the priesthood, who refused to take the required oath, were embittered by persecution, and became enemies of the Revolution.

Deputations of the National Guard from all parts of the country and from the army congregated in Paris for the great celebration of the Federation at the Champ-de-Mars on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, July 14, 1790, the culminating feature of a movement in which public opinion was beginning to express itself nationally in France. The military delegations returning from this demonstration spread revolutionary enthusiasm, but likewise the spirit of insubordination, in the army, which was threatened with disintegration at a time when a large number of its officers were abandoning their posts and joining the émigrés beyond the frontiers. The troops formed various associations and clubs, intervened in matters of discipline, discussed the questions of the day, and elected their non-commissioned officers and company officers.

The attitude of the court, influenced by the king's vacillating temperament and the queen's capricious dislikes and prejudices, was marked by inconsistency and short-sightedness. It regarded those among the moderate patriots who might have been its stanchest or most efficient supporters with suspicion or antipathy. The loyal coöperation of the court might have enabled Mirabeau to preserve the throne, but he died in April, 1791, leaving the king a prey to fatuous advisers.

The attempted flight of the royal family was interpreted by the body of the nation as affording unmistakable evidence of the king's intention of making common cause with the émigrés and other counter-revolutionists and employing the army to overthrow the constitutional institutions. It alienated a large body of moderate opinion throughout the country. But the Assembly was still overwhelmingly monarchist in sentiment and conspired with the constitutional forces of society to save appearances and maintain the dignity of the throne.

The influence of the political clubs was constantly increasing. Chief among them were the "Club of the Friends of the Constitution," commonly known as the Jacobins from its meeting place in the old Dominican Convent of St. Jacobus in Rue Saint-Honoré, and the societies affiliated with it throughout France. These clubs exercised a very great influence over the Assembly. They debated the matters pending before it and instructed the deputies who were their members as to the course to be taken. In fact, it may be said that, just as after the revolution of March, 1917, in Russia, by the side of the legal government there was growing up an extra legal one that was marshalling the forces of popular opinion and prejudice and would eventually consolidate its power and grasp authority in the state.

As the prevailing tone of the organization of the Jacobins, following the general tendency of the time, became increasingly radical, a large number of the moderate element withdrew from it and founded the Club of the Feuillants, leaving the Jacobin Club to the radicals and extremists. The growth of the influence of the Jacobins throughout France was greatly favored by the old habit of the provinces, implanted through generations of political centralization, of looking to the capital for guidance. The affiliated societies copied the statutes, rules, and spirit of the club in Paris, and with it became a powerful organ for mobilizing public opinion, prejudice, or passion to further the schemes of designing politicians, who appealed to the multitude by their denunciation of the terms of the constitution.

Although the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen proclaimed that law is the will of the nation, that all the citizens have the right of participating personally or through their representatives in its formation, and that all are equal before it, the constitution, as completed and formally adopted in September, 1791, limited the franchise by maintaining the indirect system of elections and establishing the property qualification for voters, a source of resentment to the proletariat which demagogues and scheming politicians did not fail to exploit. The constitution applied the principle of the strict separation of powers and held to the single legislative chamber and the suspensive veto. It left the executive power weak, with no direct share in making the laws, little influence in the administration of justice, and no adequate control over the local administration of the country.

The formal adoption of the constitution was followed by the convocation of the Legislative Assembly, from which, by the injudicious decree of the Constituent Assembly, all the members of the latter were excluded.

On the whole, the partial subversion of the work of the Constituent Assembly was probably due, less to its inherent defects, than to the destructive violence of the factions. The political fabric created by the Constituent Assembly was attacked at the same time by the forces of reaction and those of anarchy. The court intrigued against it. The irreconcilable element among the former privileged classes made every period of disorder or of embarrassment for the government an occasion for attacking the New Régime. The radical extremists bid for popular support by assailing the constitution with its restrictive provisions. There were groups at both extremes who were inclined to enlist the help of anarchy to undo the work of the Assembly.

The exclusion of the members of the Constituent Assembly from the new legislative body and the retirement from public life of other prominent moderates left the field to the visionaries, fanatics, and self-seeking demagogues. A group of radical deputies, later known as the Girondins, inexperienced but brilliant in oratory, inspired by fervent devotion to utopian doctrines as well as by their own boundless ambition, soon won the leading place in the new Assembly. The court, blinded by spite and prejudice, supported these radicals against its natural allies, such as Lafayette. But in their infatuation and thirst for power, the Girondins, who had no real love for the people and no desire for a social upheaval, courted the extremists and the multitude and acquiesced in the arming of the populace of Paris, thus preparing the way for their own undoing.

By making government impossible without themselves, the Girondins forced their way into the ministry, where their aggressive democratic zeal made foreign war inevitable. Their effrontery provoked their dismissal by the indignant king and this resulted in the invasion of the Tuileries by the populace.

The effect of the reaction of public opinion at this violence and insult to the crown was but ephemeral. The leadership in the Revolution was passing to a more determined group prepared to outbid all others for popular support and scruple at nothing to win power and realize their designs. The threat of foreign invasion favored the advent of resolute, audacious leaders with drastic policies, untrammeled by visionary ideals.

The effort of foreign kings in behalf of the French monarchy was fatal to the latter. The Duke of Brunswick's bombastic proclamation aroused in France the spirit of defiance. An insurrectional commune, usurping the municipal administration at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, became the directing center of the revolutionary movement and rivaled the power of the Assembly. The multitude, driven to fierce passion by political agitation and their belief in the king's complicity in treason, assailed the palace, slaughtered the Swiss Guard and other loyal defenders, and overthrew the throne. The king and royal family were confined under custody of the revolutionary commune in the ancient tower of the Temple.

The nation, responding with a magnificent outburst of patriotic fervor to the crisis threatening France, accepted almost without a murmur the results of the uprising of August 10th, which virtually abrogated the constitution. Under the impulse of danger and the new spirit, the military vigor of the nation was rejuvenated. But the factors and events that caused the failure of the experiment in constitutional monarchy were decisive for the whole course of the Revolution. Their result was to destroy all chance of renovating France by gradual change, by evolution rather than revolution, and to prolong the process of upheaval until it had made a clean sweep of all existing institutions.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE CITIZEN

Decreed by the National Assembly in the sessions of August 20, 21, 23, 24, and 26, 1789; accepted by the king.

PREAMBLE

The representatives of the French people organized in National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public evils and of the corruption of governments, have resolved to expose in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, to the end that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the social body, may unceasingly remind them of their rights and duties; that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, being subject at all times to comparison with the end of every political institution, may be more respected; that the demands of the citizens, founded henceforth on simple and incontestable principles, may ever turn to the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of all.

Consequently, the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being the following rights of man and of the citizen:

First Article

Men are born and live free and equal in rights; social distinctions can only be based on common utility.

II

The end of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

III

The principle of all authority resides essentially in the nation; no body or individual can exercise authority which does not emanate expressly from it.

IV

Liberty consists in the power of doing all that injures no one. Hence the only limits to the exercise of the natural rights of each individual are those which insure to the other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights; these limits can only be determined by law.

V

Law can only forbid actions harmful to society. Whatever is not forbidden by law cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do what the law does not order.

VI

Law is the expression of the general will; all the citizens have the right to participate, personally or through their representatives, in its formation; it should be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All the citizens, being equal in its eyes, are equally admissible to all dignities, positions, and public employments, according to their capacity, and without any distinctions except those of their virtues and their talents.

VII

No one can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by law and according to the forms which it prescribes. Those who instigate, draw up, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary orders shall be punished, but any citizen summoned or placed under distraint by virtue of the law should obey instantly; he renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII

The law shall establish only such punishments as are strictly and clearly necessary and no one can be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated previously to the offense and legally applied.

IX

Since every man is assumed to be innocent until he has been declared guilty, in case the arrest of any man is judged indispensable, all rigor which is not necessary for securing his presence must be severely suppressed by law.

X

No one shall be disturbed for his religious or other opinions unless their manifestation disturbs public order established by law.

XI

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man; every citizen can therefore speak, write, and print freely, subject to answer for the abuse of this liberty in the cases determined by law.

XII

The guarantee of the rights of man and of the citizen necessitates a public force; this force is therefore instituted for the advantage of all and not for the private utility of those to whom it is entrusted.

XIII

For the maintenance of the public force and for the expenses of administration, a common contribution is indispensable; it shall be equally distributed among the citizens in proportion to their resources.

XIV

The citizens have the right of determining themselves or through their representatives the necessity for the public contribution, of granting it without constraint, of controlling the use made of it, and of determining the quota, assessment, the method of payment, and the duration.

XV

Society has the right of demanding an account of every public agent for his administration.

XVI

No society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured or the separation of powers determined has a constitution.

XVII

The right of property being inviolable and sacred, no one can be deprived of his property unless public necessity, legally established, clearly requires it and then on condition of just and previous indemnification.

APPENDIX II

DECLARATION OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK TO THE INHABITANTS OF FRANCE

Their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies which they have caused to assemble on the frontiers of France, I wish to announce to the inhabitants of this kingdom the motives that have prompted the measures of the two sovereigns and the intentions which guide them.

After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, disturbed and overthrown good order and legitimate government, and committed against the king's sacred person and against his august family outrages and acts of violence which still continue and are renewed from day to day, those who have usurped the reins of the administration have at last filled the measure of their iniquity by declaring an unjust war against His Majesty, the Emperor, and attacking his provinces in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the Germanic Empire have been included in their oppression and several others have only escaped from the same danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the dominant party and its emissaries.

His Prussian Majesty, united with his Imperial Majesty by the bonds of a close defensive alliance, and preponderant member himself of the Germanic Body, cannot therefore do less than march to the aid of his ally and partner, and it is in

this two-fold connection that he undertakes the defense of this monarch and of Germany.

To these great interests there is added a purpose equally important and close to the heart of the two sovereigns, to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to arrest the attacks on the throne and altar, to reëstablish legal authority, to restore to the king the safety and freedom of which he is deprived, and to place him in a position to exercise the legitimate authority which is his right.

Convinced that the sane part of the French nation abhors the excesses of a faction that holds them in subjection and that the greater part of the inhabitants await with impatience the moment of relief to declare openly against the hateful enterprises of their oppressors, His Majesty, the Emperor, and His Majesty, the King of Prussia, summon and invite them to return without delay to the call of reason and justice, of order and peace. It is with these prospects that I, the undersigned, commander-in-chief of the two armies, declare:

1. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object than the happiness of France, without any intention of enriching themselves by conquest.

2. That they do not intend to interfere in the internal government of France, but only wish to liberate the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, to procure for His Very Christian Majesty the necessary security for him to promulgate without danger or hindrance the orders which he may judge expedient, and labor to insure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises and insofar as it may depend on him.

3. That the combined armies will protect the cities, towns, and villages, and the persons and property of all those who will submit to the king, and that they will concur

in the immediate reëstablishment of law and order in all France.

4. That the National Guard are ordered provisionally to defend the tranquillity of the towns and country, and the safety of the persons and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties or until other orders are given, subject to personal responsibility; and that, on the contrary, those of the National Guard who combat the troops of the two allied courts and are taken with arms in their hands will be treated as enemies and punished as rebels against their king and as disturbers of the public peace.

5. That the generals, officers, non-commissioned officers, and French troops of the line are likewise summoned to return to their former allegiance and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

6. That the administrators of the departments, the districts, and the municipalities will be held equally responsible in their lives and property for all offenses, incendiary destruction, assassination, pillage, and assaults which they permit to be committed or which they do not obviously exert themselves to the best of their ability to prevent in their territory; and that they will be expected likewise to continue their functions provisionally until his Very Christian Majesty, restored to full liberty, has made subsequent provision, unless in the meantime it is ordered otherwise.

7. That the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and villages who dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties and fire on them, either in the open country or from windows, will be immediately punished with the rigor of the law of war or their houses will be demolished or burned; but that, on the contrary, all inhabitants of the said cities, towns, and villages who hasten to submit to their king by opening their doors to the troops

of their Majesties will be placed at once under their immediate safeguard; their persons, their property, and their effects will be under the protection of law and provision will be made for all and each of them.

8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction are called upon to submit to the king at once and without delay, to put this prince in full and complete liberty, and to assure him, as well as all the royal personages, the inviolability and respect which natural law and the law of nations impose upon subjects towards their sovereigns; and that their Imperial and Royal Majesties hold personally responsible with their lives for all occurrences, subject to military punishment, without hope of pardon, all members of the National Assembly, of the district, of the municipality, and of the National Guard of Paris, the judges of the peace, and all others whom it may concern; their said Majesties declaring besides, on their faith and word as emperor and king, that if the palace (château) of the Tuileries is forced or insulted, if the least violence or least outrage is committed against their Majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family, if provision is not made immediately for their safety, preservation, and liberty, they will inflict an exemplary and never-to-be-forgotten vengeance by giving over the city of Paris to military execution and complete subversion and the rebels guilty of outrages to the punishment which they will deserve; but that, on the contrary, their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise the inhabitants of the city of Paris to use their good offices with His Very Christian Majesty to obtain pardon for their faults and errors and to take the most vigorous measures to insure the safety of their persons and property, in case they obey the above injunction promptly and precisely.

9. Finally, their Majesties, unable to recognize as laws in France any but those emanating from the king in the

enjoyment of complete liberty, repudiate in advance the authenticity of any declarations that may have been made in the name of his Very Christian Majesty as long as his sacred person, that of the queen, and all the royal family are not actually in safety; wherefore their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and solicit his Very Christian Majesty to designate the town of his kingdom nearest to its frontiers to which he will judge it expedient to retire with the queen and his family, under good and trustworthy escort, which will be sent to him for this purpose, that his Very Christian Majesty may in full safety call about him the ministers and councillors that it will please him to designate, issue such orders as may appear suitable, provide for the reëstablishment of good order, and regulate the administration of his kingdom.

Finally, I declare and bind myself also in my own and proper name, and in the above-mentioned capacity, to have the troops entrusted to my command observe everywhere good and punctilious discipline, promising to treat with gentleness and moderation the well-intentioned subjects who show themselves peaceable and submissive and only to use force against those who are guilty of resistance or malevolence.

It is through these considerations that I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom in the most forcible and insistent manner not to oppose the march and operations of the troops that I command, but rather to accord them an unimpeded entrance everywhere, and complete goodwill, aid, and assistance, as circumstances require.

Issued at Headquarters at Coblenz, July 25th.

Signed: Charles William Ferdinand,
Duke of Brunswick—Luneburg.

APPENDIX III

DECREES OF THE ASSEMBLY OF AUGUST 10, 1792

(1). Decree proposed by M. Vergniaud in the name of the Extraordinary Committee and immediately adopted.

The National Assembly, considering that the dangers of the country have reached their height,

That it is the most sacred duty of the Legislative Body to use every means to save it,

That effective means for this end cannot be found until the source of its misfortunes has been stopped;

Considering that its misfortunes spring chiefly from the mistrust inspired by the conduct of the chief of the executive power in a war undertaken in his name against the constitution and the national independence,

That this mistrust has provoked from different parts of the empire the demand for the revocation of the authority delegated to Louis XVI;

Considering, nevertheless, that the Legislative Body has neither the right nor the desire to increase its own (authority) by any usurpations; that, in the extraordinary circumstances, unforeseen by any laws, in which circumstances have placed it, it can only reconcile the obligation of its unswerving loyalty to the constitution with its firm resolve to be buried under the ruins of the temple of liberty, rather than to let liberty perish, by appealing to the sovereignty of the people and taking at the same time the indispensable

precautions that this appeal shall not be rendered futile through treason, decrees as follows:

Article I. The French people is invited to form a National Convention. The Extraordinary Committee will submit to-morrow the draft of a decree determining the manner and the time of this convention.

II. The chief of the executive power is provisionally suspended from his functions until the National Convention has decided on the measures which it deems it its duty to adopt to insure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality.

III. The Extraordinary Committee will submit during the day a method for organizing a new ministry.

IV. The present ministers will continue provisionally to exercise their functions.

V. The Extraordinary Committee will also submit during the day the draft of a decree for the nomination of the tutor for the royal prince.

VI. The payment of the civil list is suspended until the decision of the National Convention has been reached. The Extraordinary Committee will submit within twenty-four hours the draft of a decree on the salary to be granted the king during his suspension.

VII. The accounts of the civil list will be deposited on the bureau of the Assembly after they have been numbered and countersigned by two commissioners of the Assembly, who will repair for this purpose to the quarters of the intendant of the civil list.

VIII. The king and his family will remain in the precinct of the Legislative Body until calm has been restored in Paris.

IX. The department will issue orders to have prepared during the day a lodging for them at the Luxembourg where they will be placed under the guard of the citizens and the law.

X. Any public functionary, any soldier, non-commissioned officer, officer of any rank, or general of an army, who in these days of alarm deserts his post is declared infamous and a traitor to his country.

XI. The department and the municipality of Paris will have the present decree solemnly proclaimed at once.

XII. It will be despatched by special couriers to the eighty-three departments which will be required to transmit it within twenty-four hours to the municipalities in their territory for it to be proclaimed by them with the same solemnity.

(2). Decree proposed by M. Guadet in the name of the Extraordinary Committee and immediately adopted.

The National Assembly, considering that it has not the right to subject to imperative rules the exercise of sovereignty in the formation of a National Convention, and that, nevertheless, it is a matter of concern for the public safety that the primary and electoral assemblies be formed and proceed with uniformity and that the National Convention be promptly assembled,

Invites the citizens in the name of liberty, equality, and the country, to comply with the following rules:

Article I. The primary assemblies will designate the same number of electors that they designated in the last elections.

II. The distinction of Frenchmen into active and non-active citizens will be abolished, and for admission (to the primary assemblies) it will suffice to be a Frenchman, twenty-one years of age, having had a fixed place of residence for a year, living from one's own income or from the product of one's labor, and not a domestic servant. As for those who, fulfilling these qualifications for active citizenship, have been summoned by the law to take the civic oath, they will be required, for admission, to prove that they have taken the oath.

III. The qualifications of eligibility required for the electors or for the representatives not being applicable for a National Convention, it will suffice for eligibility as deputy or as elector to be twenty-five years of age and to fulfill the conditions required in the preceding article.

IV. Each department will choose the same number of deputies and of substitutes as it chose for the present legislature.

V. The elections will be carried on in the same manner as for the Legislative Assemblies.

VI. The primary assemblies are invited to confer an unrestricted mandate on their representatives.

VII. The primary assemblies will meet on Sunday, August 26th, to choose the electors.

VIII. The electors designated by the primary assemblies will meet on Sunday, September 2d, to proceed to the election of the deputies for the National Convention.

IX. The electoral assemblies will be held in the places indicated in the table which will be annexed to the present decree.

X. In view of the need of hastening the elections, the presidents, secretaries, and scrutineers, both in the primary and electoral assemblies, will be chosen by relative plurality and by a single ballot.

XI. The primary and electoral assemblies may choose any citizen possessing the above-mentioned qualifications, whatever public functions he may exercise or may have exercised previously.

XII. The citizens in the primary assemblies and the electors in the electoral assemblies will take the oath to maintain liberty and equality or to die in defending them.

XIII. The deputies will repair to Paris September 20th and as soon as two hundred are present they will have their names entered in the archives of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly will appoint the day for the opening of their sessions.

XIV. The National Assembly, after having indicated to the French citizens the rules with which it has believed it to be its duty to ask them to conform, considering that the circumstances and justice solicit equally an indemnity for the electors, decrees that there is urgency.

The National Assembly, after having decreed urgency, decrees that the electors who are compelled to leave home will receive twenty sous for every league and three livres for every day of absence.

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